National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 29. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,173.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

A LECTURE

BY PROF. J. ELLIOTT CAIRNES,

Delivered in Dublin, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, Thursday Evening, Oct. 30, 1862.

From The Dublin Express, Oct. 31.

It is with feelings of no ordinary diffidence that I appear before you this evening—diffidence inspired at once by the distinguished audience in whose presence I find myself, and by the topic which I have undertaken to treat. I am not ignorant that I now address an audience whose ears have become familiar with strains of eloquence such as I can have no pretension to offer you, and I know that I have to deal with a topic not only of extreme difficulty and delicacy, but one respecting which the sympathies of the public have already taken a decided course, and that course in the direction, I deeply regret to think, the reverse of that in which my own sympathies run. So strongly, indeed, do I feel the force of this consideration, that were I to consult my own tastes merely, the revolution in America is certainly not the subject which I should have selected for this occasion. It has, however, been intimated to me that it is the wish of your Association that I should address you upon this question (hear); and under these circumstances, the question being one to which I have given some study, I do not conceive that I should be justified in resisting your very flattering request. I propose, therefore, to bring under your attention this evening the revolution in America (hear). I undertake the task—I say it with the most unaffected sincerity—with a profound sense of my own utter inability to do it justice, but still with the hope that I may say enough to induce those who hear me to reconsider their opinions (hear), and I add, in the full confidence that I shall receive at your hands that indulgence which an honest attempt to state the truth on an important subject seldom fails to meet from an Irish audience. And here, at the outset, I think it will conduce to a clearer comprehension of what is to follow if I state frankly the conclusions which I have myself come to respecting the matter in hand. I hold, then, that the present convulsion in America is the natural fruit and inevitable consequence of the existence of slavery in that continent (hear); and as slavery has been the cause of the outbreak, so I conceive slavery is the stake which is really at issue in the struggle. I hold that the success of the North means, if not the immediate emancipation of slaves, at least the immediate arrest of slavery (hear), with the certainty of its ultimate extinction; and, on the other hand, that the success of the South means the establishment of slavery on a broader and firmer basis than has hitherto sustained it, with its future indefinite extension. I hold, moreover, that the form of society which has been reared on slavery in the Southern States is substantially a new fact in history, being at once in its nature retrograde and aggressive—retrograde as regards the constituents which compose it, and aggressive as regards all other forms of social life with which it may come into contact—a system of society which combines the strength of civilization with all the evil instincts of barbarism (hear). Such, as I conceive, is the phenomenon now presented by the Southern Confederacy; and the struggle which we witness is but the effort of this new and formidable monster to disengage itself from the restraints which free society, in self-defence, was drawing around it, in order to secure for its development a free and unbounded field (hear). Such, in a few words, are the conclusions at which I have arrived on this momentous matter. I shall now proceed to state, as succinctly as I can, the considerations by which I have been led to them. I maintain, then, in the first place, that the war has had its origin in slavery, and in support of this statement I appeal to the whole past history of the United States, and to the explicit declarations of the Confederate leaders themselves. What has been the history of the United States for the last 50 years? It has been little more than a record of aggressions made by the power which represents slavery, feebly and almost always unsuccessfully resisted by the free States and culminating in the present war. The question at issue between the North and the South is constantly stated here as if it was the North which was the aggressive party, as it the North had been pursuing towards the Southern people a career of encroachment and oppression which reached its climax in Mr. Lincoln's election, and as if the act of secession was but an act of self-defence forced upon a people whose measure of humiliation was full. Now the facts of the case are precisely the reverse of all this. It is not the North but the South which virtually for the last half century has been the dominant influence in the nation (hear). Southern men, and the nominees of Southern men, have filled the Presidential chair. Southern men have monopolized the offices of the State, represented the country at foreign courts, and guided the policy of the nation (hear). The whole course of domestic legislation in the United States from the year 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was passed, down to the year of its repeal, and from its repeal to the latest act of Mr. Buchanan's government, has been directed to the same end—the aggrandizement of Southern interests and the consolidation of the Slave Power (hear). Such as its domestic policy has been, so also has been its foreign policy in the annexation of Texas, in the conquest of half of Mexico, in the lawless attempts on Cuba, in the invasion of peaceable States in Central America, in the defence of the slave trade against British cruisers. Everywhere the same aggressive spirit has been at work, employing now intrigue, now violence, now making filibustering raids, now waging open war, but always in favor of the same cause—slavery.

PROGRESS OF THE SLAVE INSTITUTION.

This has been the history of the United States for the last half century. Observe with what results. In 1790, three years after the nation was established, the slave States comprised 250,000 square miles; in 1860 that area had grown to 851,000 square miles. In 1790 the entire number of slaves in the United States was less than three-quarters of a million; in 1860 that number had increased to upwards of 4,000,000 (hear, hear). Such has been the material progress of the Southern institution. Still more striking has been its progress as a political and social power (hear, hear). When the nation was founded slavery was dying out in the North, and was regarded as doomed in the South. It was tolerated, no doubt, in consideration of the important interests which it involved, but tolerated with shame. Its very name was excluded from the public documents, and the thing itself was absolutely prohibited from all places in which it was not already established, and branded as at variance with the fundamental principles of the republic. Such was the position of slavery when the Union was founded; what is its position when the Union is dissolved? It is no longer treated with mere local toleration, as an exceptional, tabooed system. It claims a free career over the whole continent, and aspires to be the basis of a new order of political fabric, and boldly puts itself forth as a model for the imitation of the world. The struggle, therefore, which now convulses America, is not the struggle of an oppressed people rising against their oppressors, but the revolt of a party which has long ruled the great republic, to retrieve by arms a political defeat—the rising of the representatives of a principle which for half a century has been steadily aggressive, to cement a long series of triumphs by a last effective blow (hear, hear).

OBJECTS OF THE SOUTH.

I have said that the purpose of the Southern revolt is to establish a new system of government, of which slavery is to be the basis. This statement is, I am aware, vehemently denied in this country, but on this point I must ask you to decide for yourselves between the declarations of the Confederate leaders and those who on this side of the Atlantic advocate their cause. I hold in my hand a paper of much significance; it is entitled, "The Philosophy of Despotism," and is from the pen of an eminent Southron, the Hon. L. W. Spratt, of South Carolina, a man who has taken a prominent part in the transactions of the last few years, and who is now editor of the Charleston *Mercury*, one of the most influential, if not the most influential paper in the South. He represented Charleston in the celebrated South Carolina Convention, which gave the first watchword of secession, and the confidence which was reposed in him by the people of South Carolina was shown in his selection as one of the committee appointed by that State to set forth its views before the Convention which subsequently met in the South. Mr. Spratt, occupying this position, may, I think, state the views of the South with some authority. Let us hear, then, what, according to Mr. Spratt, is the purpose of the South:

"The South," he states, "is now in the formation of a slave republic. This, perhaps, is not admitted generally. There are many contented to believe that the South as a geographical section is in mere assertion of its independence; that it is instinct with no especial truth—pregnant of no distinct social nature; that for some unaccountable reason the two sections have become opposed to each other; that, for reasons equally insufficient, there is disagreement between the peoples that direct them; and that from no overruling necessity, no impossibility of coexistence, but as mere matter of policy, it has been considered best for the South to strike out for herself and establish an independence of her own. This, I fear, is an inadequate conception of the controversy. The contest is not between the North and South as geographical sections, for between such sections merely there can be no contest; nor between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant, and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us. We eat together, trade together and practise yet, in intercourse, with great respect, the courtesies of common life. But the real contest is between the two forms of society which have become established, the one at the North and the other at the South. Society is essentially different from government—as different as is the nut from the bur, or the nervous body of the shell-fish from the bony structure which surrounds it; and within this government two societies had become developed, as variant in structure and distinct in form as any two beings in animated nature. The one is a society composed of one race, the other of two races. The one is bound together but by the two great social relations of husband and wife and parent and child; the other by the three relations of husband and wife, and parent and child, and master and slave. The one embodies in its political structure the principle that equality is the right of man; the other that it is the right of equals only. The one embodying the principle that equality is the right of man expands upon the horizontal plane of pure democracy; the other, embodying the principle that it is not the right of man, but of equals only, has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. Such are the two forms of society which had come to contest within the structure of the recent Union. And the contest for existence was inevitable. Neither could concur in the requisitions of the other; neither could expand within the forms of a single government without encroachment on the other. Slavery was within the grasp of the Northern States, and, forced to the option of extinction in the Union or of independence out, it dares to strike, and it asserts its claim to nationality and its right to recognition among the leading social systems of the world. Such, then, being the nature of the contest, this Union has been disrupted in the effort of slave society to emancipate itself."

The object of the South is to found a slave republic—a republic which has taken to itself the rounded form of a social aristocracy. But, before leaving this subject, there is one point on which I would wish you to hear the opinion of Mr. Spratt. It is with reference to the position taken by the Confederacy on the slave trade. We all know that the Montgomery Convention, in drawing up the Constitution, introduced a clause prohibiting this trade. There are people in this country desirous to regard this as conclusive as to the views of Southern leaders on this subject. But in the history of the Southern people, and all the circumstances under which this Constitution was drawn up, I confess I, for one, have considerable doubts as to the *bona fide* character of these prohibitions, and these have not been removed by the speculations of Mr. Spratt. "Then why adopt this measure?" says he. "Is it that Virginia and the other Border States require it? They merely require it now, but is it certain they will continue to require it? . . . It may be said," he continues, "that without such general restriction the value of their slaves will be diminished in the markets of the West. They have no right to ask that their slaves or any other products shall be protected to an unnatural value in the markets of the West. If they persist in regarding the negro but as a thing of trade—a thing which they are too good to use, but only can produce for others' uses—and join the Confederacy, as Pennsylvania or Massachusetts might do, not to support the structure, but to profit by it, it were as well they should not join, and we can find no interest in such association." And then, referring to what was well understood by the prohibitory clause, the power to conciliate European support, Mr. Spratt says: "They (the European States) will submit to any terms of intercourse with the slave republic in consideration of its markets and its products. An increase of slaves will increase the market and supply. They will pocket their philanthropy and the profits together." Further he says: "I was the single advocate of the slave trade in 1853; *it is now the question of time.*" So far from the representative man of the leading secession State, South Carolina, the exponent of the philosophy of secession. I will only ask you to listen to one authority more. It is the Vice-President of the Southern Confederation, Mr. A. H. Stephens: "The ideas entertained at the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African race was foreign to the laws of nature—that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically. Our new government is founded on exactly opposite ideas. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the sacred truth that the negro is not one with the white man—that subordination to the superior race is his native condition. Thus our government stands the first in the world based upon this great philosophical and moral truth. . . . This stone, which was rejected by the first builders, has become the chief corner-stone in our new edifice." We are told by the advocates of a recognition of the South in this country that we need not be deterred from this course by the consideration that the South is a Slave Power. "A Slave Power!" they exclaim; "was not the United States a Slave Power? Are not Spain and the Brazils Slave Powers, and why should we become fastidious now?" This is the position taken by the admirers of the South in England, but not that taken by the Southerners themselves. "Our new government," says the Vice-President of the Confederacy, "is founded on exactly opposite ideas. This is the first government in the history of the world based upon this great philosophical and moral truth." Slavery has before existed, but has never before been taken as the corner-stone of an empire, as set forth by its own Vice-President. The South shelters slavery, and constitutes itself undeniably the one Slave Power in the world. I say this, that the present convulsion has existed in the exigencies of slavery, and that the struggle which succeeded is a consequence of slave policy. A year or two ago I should have thought that, having established this, I should have certainly established my case; but really it seems to me that a singular change has passed over the minds of my countrymen upon this subject. I do not mean to say that there is any considerable number of persons in this country or present audience who regard slavery with positive favor, but I do say that public feeling on this subject is not what it used to be. I find a disposition among public men and influential organs of public opinion to palliate this aspect of the case. A tone of apology is taken towards slavery to which British laws have not been accustomed. "The negroes," says *The Saturday Review*, in a recent number, "have been slaves for centuries. They are used to slavery, and for the most part contented with it. They are plentifully fed—the food is cheap; and they are well housed, as race-horses and hunters are housed in this country, because they are costly chattels. They are as well clothed as the time requires. In a word, the majority of them have no grievance whatever, except in the fact that they are slaves—a grievance which they think not worth speaking of, and one which few of them are thoughtful enough to feel." In other words, four million of the African race—a race capable, as we know from the testimony of competent witnesses of their condition in the West Indies, from the result of the negro schools in New England, and from occasional instances which come under our own observation—not merely of feeling the obligation to perform the duties of rational creatures, but of receiving a very considerable amount of intellectual information—four million of these people, at least capable of human discrimination, have, under the system of the South, been reduced to the condition merely of simple brutes. This is the cool admission of a writer who seeks, in the description I have quoted, to conciliate public favor towards the institution he thus describes. But my present hearers will, I doubt not, disclaim the morality of *The Saturday Review*. Public sentiment on this, as on many other subjects, is not yet linked to the original and advanced opinions of that enterprising paper (applause). Well, it is important to know the extreme point which the wave has yet touched; and if opinion has not reached the length of the passage I have quoted, I think most candid persons will admit that it has at least been moving in that direction. Do we not hear on all hands that negroes are well cared for, that the men of the South are a chivalrous set of men, and that the system is a patriarchal one? A disclaimer is introduced, but then and there we are warned against being carried away by old-fashioned enthusiasms. But what is the character of slavery as it exists? It is a system under which men and women, boys and girls, are exposed, like cattle in the market-place, to be bought and sold. It is a system under which a whole race of men are deprived of all the rights and privileges of rational creatures, and consigned to a life of toil, in order that another race may live in idleness. It is a system under which we are told the negroes are perfectly contented, but from which they are constantly escaping, in spite of bloodhounds and man-hunters. Call it a paradise if you will, but it is one from which its denizens escape to the Dismal Swamp—it is one which, if once left, no negro is anxious to regain (applause). Under this system the human being convicted of no crime may, in strict conformity to the law, be flogged at the discretion of his fellow-man, who may kill him with the lash without enduring any penalty for the murder. Under this system human beings may be, as they have been in several instances, burned alive. All property is for the negro contraband. Knowledge is made a penal offence. The marriage tie is not in legal recognition, and is regarded with no practical respect. Nay, it is worse than this, for the laws permit fathers to enslave and sell their own children; and there are fathers in the Southern States who practically avail themselves of this law. Do you doubt this? Account, then, for the mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons, many of them scarcely darker than Europeans, who form a large proportion of the slaves born in the South. From what source is that white blood blended in their veins but from the men who commit their own flesh and blood to the charge of the overseer, or, worse still, to the slave-dealer? This is an aspect of things which I would have passed by, but in the present state the effects are too serious to be blinked at by the people of this country, who achieved renown by freeing themselves from this curse.

"CHIVALRY" OF THE SOUTH

We hear much in these times of the "chivalry" of the South. The Southerners, we are told, are gentlemen, and on this ground are contrasted favorably with the North. I shall certainly not deny that the wealthier classes of the South possess in a high degree those qualities which the principle of caste tends to engender—pride, courage, loyalty to the interests of their order, capacity for government, and perseverance in a fixed course of policy. Nay, even as regards the chivalry and gentility—things about which our notions generally are somewhat vague—I shall not undertake to say that the South does not possess them. I only ask you to remember that the chivalry and gentility of the Southron is not incompatible with the systematic appropriation of the fruits of another's labor, with laying the whip over the shoulders of women, with acts which called down on Marshal Haynau the indignation of the London draymen (hear, hear), with turning one's own flesh and blood to pecuniary profit, or, to give a practical illustration, with such deeds as that committed by a Southern gentleman on the person of Mr. Sumner. Mr. Sumner is one of the few public men of the United States who, in moral character and intellectual attainments, is worthy to take his place among the scholars, orators, and statesmen of Europe. In 1856, when opposing the introduction of slavery into Kansas, he made in the Senate of the United States one of the most powerful speeches ever delivered in a deliberative assembly, and in this speech he denounced the policy of the Slave Power in language plain and outspoken, but which did not pass what in this country is considered the legitimate limit of Parliamentary debate. How did the chivalrous South takes its revenge? Two days afterwards, as Mr. Sumner was sitting at his desk, engaged in writing a letter, with his head bent over his paper, he was approached by Mr. Brooks, a representative of South Carolina, who said, "I have read your speech; it is a libel on the South"; and forthwith, while the words were yet passing from his lips, and before Mr. Sumner could rise from his seat, he commenced a succession of blows on his bare head with a heavy cane. Mr. Sumner was stunned, and fell to the floor. His assailant stood over him and continued the assault. Blow after blow fell upon his defenceless head. There were Senators of the South present, and one from the North, Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, a Democrat, and a close ally of the South, but there was no interference. One old man, indeed, did interfere a little towards the close, but for that little he was threatened with chastisement on the spot. Mr. Brooks only desisted just before murder was accomplished. Such is the mode in which the chivalrous South avenges its grievances. But the most important point in reference to the attack on Mr. Sumner was the manner in which it was received by the Southern people. Not one press south of the Potomac condemned the act—not one man, not one public body. Not one word of rebuke came from any quarter of the South. On the contrary, it was adopted and approved by all—recognized as a policy and a system; and not only the men, but the women of the South combined to heap commendations, honors and rewards upon the perpetrator. So far as to the character, object and aims of the Southern Confederacy.

POLITICAL MOVEMENT OF THE SOUTH.

Let me now endeavor to explain the political movement which has brought the free States and the South into collision. And here you will, of course, understand that I cannot pretend to do more than give the barest outline of the case. At every step I must leave difficulties unsolved and objections unanswered. I only ask you to believe that, if I do so, it is not because I feel them to be either insoluble or unanswerable, but simply because the limits of time during which I can occupy your attention require that I should confine myself to those points which are indispensable towards comprehending the drift and meaning of the whole. To understand the influences which now agitate the North, and assist you to appreciate the consequence of the part which the North has acted in this great drama, and the results towards which it is tending, the first fact to be considered is, that the movement of which we now contemplate the results—the movement which carried Lincoln to power—was a reaction against the influences which had been previously predominant in the Union, which had controlled almost the whole of its past policy. From 1820 to 1860 the government of the United States has, with the exception of a few short intervals, been in the hands of the party composed of Southern politicians, and of that section of the North which for political purposes may be regarded as Southern—the Northern Democrats. Of this political combination I do not overstate the case when I say that the leading idea, the comparative aim, almost the single purpose, was to extend slavery, and to achieve political power by extending it. Under the influence of this party, public morality in America has deteriorated as public morality never before deteriorated in any country in the same space of time (hear). The race of political men has declined, political honesty is scarcely to be found. Politics has become a by-word. In spite of a material prosperity which astonished the world, America, in all moral qualities, in all the qualities which adorn a nation has rapidly retrograded. Down to 1855 this tendency to retrograde met with no serious obstruction, but in that year the evil began to work its own cure. The excesses of the dominant party awoke some of the best minds in the United States to a sense of the fearful career along which it was hurrying, and the certain ruin which was ahead. A reaction took place, and a new party was formed. It was this party which carried Lincoln to power. It is the same which is now rapidly transforming the whole policy of the republic. The principles of the Republican party are such as the opponents of the policy of the South necessarily ought to have.

THE QUESTION AT ISSUE.

The question at issue in the vast contest respecting slavery in this rebellion has not been as frequently supposed in this country, whether slavery should be abolished or perpetuated, but whether it should be restricted to its present limits or extended over the entire of the Union. Down to the present hour, or, more correctly, down to the recent proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, no considerable politician proposed to interfere with slavery in the States where it was already established, and the efforts of the party opposed to slavery on the one hand, and of the slavery party on the other, have been directed exclusively to the "Territories." I must explain the peculiar signification which the word "Territory" bears in the United States, and the political nomenclature of the United States. A Territory does not signify, as with us, whole acres of country, but only that portion which has not yet been brought under the control of State governments. Accordingly, "Territory," in the political discussions of the United States, is opposed to "State," the State being for all local purposes under its own government, while a "Territory," having no local government, comes directly under the cognizance and control of the Federal authority. The Territories are, in short, the unsettled portions, and include those vast regions which stretch away to the Pacific. These it is which form the question between slavery and freedom. When the Union was founded the slave interest was content with a small local toleration—it made no claim to extension beyond its existing limits. In proof of this I need only point to a region which then corresponded to the word Territories, but is now comprised in the free States, Ohio, Illinois and Michigan. These had been ceded to the central government by Virginia, the most powerful of the slave States, and the ordinance providing for its government was drawn up by Jefferson, a Southern slaveowner. If the slave party at that time considered that it had any claims, this was a case in which it could be advanced, the Territory in question having been originally the property of a slave State, and the statesman to whom the preparation of a charter for its government was intrusted had been a native of that State. No such claim was advanced. On the contrary, a clause was introduced into the ordinance, which forever prohibited the introduction of slavery into the Territory. I say, therefore, at the outset of the history of the United States, the slavery party were content to remain within the existing limits, and advanced no pretensions on the unsettled territory of the nation. At an early period of the present century, however, we find that, with the extension of the cotton cultivation, slavery interests grew in proportion, and, in 1818, the pretension was openly advanced to carry slavery into the Territories. The first attempt was the demand to admit Missouri as a slave State. A violent opposition was given, and the result was the "Missouri compromise," by which the slavery party gained their object—the admission of Missouri, but with the provision that in future slavery should not be introduced beyond a certain parallel of latitude. This was the first triumph of the Southern party—the division of the republic into free and slave Territories (hear, hear). Such was the position of the question till 1820, at which time the entire territory, which, under the Missouri compromise, fell to the South, having been appropriated. The next step was to endeavor to break the Missouri compromise. The Missouri compromise was therefore denounced by the South as unjust. It was urged that the proper parties to determine the question of slavery or no slavery in the territories were not the Federal government but the settlers. A bill recognizing this principle, which was justly called the "Squatter Sovereignty," was passed in the year 1854—a bill by which the unsettled lands were virtually thrown open, to be scrambled for by the contending parties. This was the second triumph in the career of aggression. The territories were now all thrown open to slavery throughout their whole extent. The results expected, however, were not realized. The measure of 1854, though it threw open the territories to slavery, did not actually establish it, but left it to be decided by the settlers, and it turned out that in the absence of business of colonization the slave States were no match for the free (hear, hear). Thus, in Kansas, in spite of every intrigue on the part of the slave party, their defeat was ignominious and complete (hear). The theory of the squatter sovereignty was, therefore, laid aside, and in its place a new doctrine propounded; it was said that slave property had a right to be recognized as such by the Constitution—that, if property at all, it was as much so in one part of the Union as in another—that the first duty of government was to protect property wherever its jurisdiction extended; and the conclusion drawn from those premises was that it was the duty of the Federal government to protect slavery in all parts of the Union—in the Territories as well as in the States, and in the free States as well as in the slave (hear). This was the last culminating pretension of the Slave Power; it amounted to nothing less than a demand to convert the whole Union into one grand slaveholding domain. Not only was the pretension advanced, but important steps were taken to make it good. By dint of packing in the courts of justice, with Southern partisans, a decision was obtained called the Dred Scott Decision, which fully bore out the views of the slavery party. So far as the law was concerned, the triumph of the South was accomplished. It was laid down by the highest authority that in the eye of the law there was no difference between a slave and a horse, and, as a man may take his horse where he pleases through the Union, and as the government was bound to protect him, so he might take his slave where he pleased, and had the same right to be maintained in possession. Something more was wanted to make good the slave party. They had need of a government to act upon the principle thus vindicated. This power they were resolved to obtain at the next Presidential election: and it was because they failed in this object that secession was proclaimed (great applause). So that you have now before you the source of aggression against which the free States now league. As the ground of the South was the extension of slavery, so the ground taken by the North was its non-extension. I say non-extension, not the abolition of slavery, for the Constitution had guaranteed slavery in the States in which it existed, and it was not part of the policy of the Republican party to violate the Constitution. Slavery, therefore, in the States was not directly threatened, but it was declared that, for the future, slavery should be excluded from all the Territories of the Republic. It was upon this position that Mr. Lincoln was raised to power, and it was because it triumphed that the South seceded. We have now traced the history of this movement up to the point when the South was breaking out. I will ask you now to follow me while I indicate the course of the Northern policy, under the aid of the Republican party, since that time. When the news of the outbreak first reached this country, as you will remember, the feeling of the public, though not of an energetic character in the whole, went for the North, it being understood that a contest was about to break out between the free and slave States, and that the object of the North was to put down slavery. One of President Lincoln's first acts on entering on the government was to declare that he had no intention to interfere with slavery where it was established. Upon hearing this, public opinion at once veered about. It was then assumed that the war was unconnected with slavery, and our sympathies, under the skilful guidance of secessionists in England, were carried round to the Southern side. In view, now, of the facts of the case, I ask you if our early expectation was not unreasonable, and I will not shrink to also ask you if our moderate calculations were not unjust. We expected the North to throw itself into the struggle against slavery, but upon what grounds? The abolition of slavery in the States where it was established had never been any part of the Northern proclamation. The Republican party had always disavowed this, and declared its determination to abide by the Constitution. I think I might go further and ask you whether it would have been wise to have resorted at once to revolutionary measures while the civil war was pending, and while a chance remained of accomplishing an object by peaceful means. But, secondly, I will ask you if our moderate calculation was not unjust. It is true the North only took up arms to defend the Constitution—the Constitution under which, in despite of its furtherance of the purposes of a pro-slavery party, it enjoyed a career of at least material prosperity. It took up arms to maintain a Union which gave to the American people the *status* of a great power in the world. These were undoubtedly the reasons which inspired the Northern rising. Nevertheless, I have always contended, and recent experience has certainly not induced me to change my mind, that the war, whatever might be the issue which might be joined, was in essence an anti-slavery war (applause). If I knew that the Union which the North resolved to defend was only endangered by the exigencies of slavery, I knew that the South demanded secession for no other purpose than to spread slavery over the length and breadth of tropical America; and therefore I felt confident that, this being the chief object of the struggle, it was to this issue that the war must ultimately come. What light has experience thrown on the question? I ask you to look to the effects of the present combat. In March last, President Lincoln issued a proclamation inviting the State Governors to advise a plan of emancipation, and passed an act abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia; later again a still more important act—the exclusion forever of slavery from the territories; and, lastly, we can point to the recent treaty with Great Britain conceding the right of search of Federal ships, and this at once effected what had hitherto been an idle protest—the blockade of the African coast. These have been the achievements of the North—achievements any one of which is sufficient to give a distinct anti-slavery character to the policy of the Federal government, achievements which will bear fruit, and cause happiness and prosperity to future generations of American people, when all this slave trade has passed away and been forgotten (applause.) Such, up to the present time, has been the course of the American revolution, but within the last month the policy of the North has undergone a radical change. The anti-slavery measures and all the other measures possess this character, that they are strictly constitutional. But to give them effect there was need of something more than the Act of Congress. The South has taken up arms for a slave Congress, and nothing short of a military defeat of the South would bring it to terms. That was the essential condition to the success of the new policy on which the North had entered. I confess I am one of those who conceive that the fulfilment of this condition—the defeat, not the permanent subjugation of the South—might have been accomplished without having recourse to any other measures than those already put in force; but highly as I was disposed to view the military prowess of the Confederates—formidable as I thought it, I confess their advantages have exceeded my expectations; and, after the experience of the present year, I see no chance of their being effectually humbled except by an appeal, on the Northern side, to principles more powerful than any yet invoked (applause); for it has been well said that while the South has enjoyed the full advantage of the awful principles of slavery, the North has only availed itself partially and with hesitation. The cause of slavery, decidedly asserted and logically carried out, has rallied the whole Southern population to the centre of secession; while the North, substantially fighting the cause of freedom, but fettered by the Constitution, has hitherto shrunk from making appeals to those sentiments which freedom inspires. To give a practical illustration of the difficulties which the North experiences; while the South does not hesitate to avail itself of the services of the negroes, either in the camp or on the plantation, the North has not taken advantage of them. What then? Is freedom to succumb? Is the North to lay down its arms? Is it to accept of the peace dictated by a triumphant Slave Power? and are the fairest portions of the New World to be made the field for the propagation of the greatest curse which mankind has yet known? I say, for my part, most emphatically. No (applause). Before freedom is pronounced defeated let it at least have a fair chance. Let it use both its hands. Let it put forth all its power. Let it oppose to the admirers of slavery the whole force of its fair intentions, and this is the resolution which slavery has forced upon the North. I may say slavery has encountered freedom clogged with the provisions of the Constitution. These have been flung aside, and freedom and slavery find themselves face to face in the deadly combat. But we are told the negroes will rise and perpetrate wholesale and indiscriminate massacres, and a series of Cawnpores will be the result. So says *The Times*. For my own part I have no faith in such predictions. I distrust the source from whence they proceed (hear, hear). I cannot forget that the same authority which now tells us that the negroes are ready to rise in rapine and murder their masters but the other day assured us that they are completely contented, happy, and loyal (applause). I cannot forget that the same censor who now denounces the Northern government for proclaiming emancipation only a few years ago denounced it with scarcely less force for not proclaiming emancipation. I cannot forget that the same seer who now indulges his imagination in picturing the horrors which freedom will produce has, from the commencement of the war down to the present time, been uttering prophecy after prophecy until we find prophecy after prophecy falsified by the events. I cannot forget that these denunciations proceed from the same generous critic who levelled insults at free America in order to divest her of her prospects. I see, therefore, and I distrust the sources from which these proceed (applause). For my part, I neither believe that the negroes are the contented, loyal beings they are described in one column of *The Times*, nor the ruthless savages they are depicted in the next. I think it will be nearer the truth to say they resemble the harmless cattle in our fields, with an intelligence somewhat more developed, and an instinct of self-interest somewhat stronger; and unless driven to desperation by acts of atrocity, such as that mentioned in the telegrams to-day, which stated that 17 negroes had been hung for having in their possession copies of President Lincoln's proclamation, the probability is that they will act much as cattle, could they but understand the import of the message which is sent to them. When the opportunity offers they will probably fly to the Federal lines. This is what instinct only will teach them. It is what they did when the war commenced, but then the war was conducted on constitutional principles, and the fugitives were sent back to serve their masters against whom those who sent them back were fighting. This can happen no more. The attempt to carry on the war on constitutional principles has been abandoned. The proclamation has superseded this. The Federal lines will henceforth become for the negro a sure harbor of refuge, and, judging from what has already occurred, and what we know of the system, probably the result will be a grand stampede of the negro population. That is the practical result which I expect from the proclamation, and it is a result of vast importance. It will derange the whole internal system of the South, and, by striking at its foundation, undermine the whole edifice. That is what it appears to me the proclamation is calculated to effect. That isolated instances of murder will occur is indeed probable. The Devil does not leave the body without rending it, and it is, indeed, fearful to think of the consequences which may be in store for the South, consequences by which even the prophecies of *The Times* may for once be fulfilled; but if this be the course which events are to take—if Southern slave masters are, in their guilty fear, to commence a wholesale carnage of innocent men, then, I say, their blood be on their own heads, and those who have sown the wind may reap the whirlwind (applause). But I shall here be asked "Where is this to end—to what purpose is this tremendous sacrifice of human life?" Is the conquest of the South possible (no, no), and is its subjection to the North possible or desirable? (Hear, hear.) I, for my part, have never thought so, and I do not think so now (hear, hear). The restoration of the Union in its former proportions appears to me, I confess, absolutely chimerical; and I have seen indications that this conviction is forcing itself on thoughtful minds in the Northern States. But, granting that the South cannot be permanently conquered, does it follow that it is impossible to stay the plague of slavery, to recover extensive districts in the Border States, already substantially free, to throw back the destroyers behind the barrier of the Mississippi? The impossibility of this has not yet been proved, and till it is, I, for one, cannot raise my voice for peace (hear). Another year of war such as has now been waged, but on possibly a still more tremendous scale, is certainly, there is no doubt, an awful prospect; but the future of a Slave Power extending its dominion over half a continent, consigning a vast race of men to utter and hopeless ruin—this is a prospect which, to my mind, is more fearful still.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavored to set forth what appeared to me the grand principles in conflict in the American revolution, and the scope of my remarks has gone to show that the course of the North is substantially the cause of humanity and civilization. I should, however, be wholly misconceived if it were supposed I was not fully sensible of much that is open to censure in the conduct of the Northern people (hear). There has been, no doubt, much incompetency, much hesitancy in the path of duty—no small amount of hesitancy, many acts of petty tyranny, and, on the part of one General, effusions of brutal insolence (hear, and hisses). I do not scruple to say that the principles held by one large party in the Northern States are as detestable as any that prevail in the South—I refer to the Northern Democratic party, long the lackey of the South, and now anxious to resume its menial duties (hear, hear)—the party which brings down disgrace on the Northern cause—the party which *The Times* newspaper delights to honor (hear). I say, as far as this party is concerned, I can find no distinction between it and its Southern patrons, except it is still more despicable (hear). Into the incidents of the movement I have not time to enter. I confine myself to the important facts, and those facts confirm the conclusion I sought to establish, that amidst all that is dark in the principle of American society, a principle of good is at work, a dawn of promise has been disclosed—a grand healthy reaction has set in (hear). For the last 40 years the course of the United States has been a retrograde one. I attribute this principally to its complicity with the great sin (hear). There may be other causes, but, I believe, this is the chief. Slavery, acting upon extraordinary material prosperity, has sent a rot into the whole body politic, but the crisis of the disease has arrived, and symptoms of returning health show themselves. The principle of evil has indeed a strong hold on his victim, but he is visibly relaxing his grasp (hear). Look at the feeling which the proclamation of emancipation has called forth. *The Times* predicted that it would disintegrate the North. On the contrary, it is now welding it together in a glow of noble enthusiasm (hear, hear). Is this a time for England to throw discouragement on the cause of freedom, and, in fear lest the motives of the North should not be of the highest order, to throw the whole weight of her moral influence into the scale of the Slave Power? I cannot think so (hear). I am not without hope that England will yet shake herself free from that yearning towards a Slave Power, and once more assert her ancient enthusiasm as the country of Wilberforce and Clarkson, the emancipator of slaves, the champion of the oppressed, the friend of freedom in every form and in every quarter of the globe (loud and prolonged applause).

THE LITTLE WIZARD.

From Wilkes's Spirit of the Times.

THE most approved principle in surgery is to strike the knife directly at the root of any vicious cancer or felonious sore, that breeds extending mischiefs in the system; but there is likewise known to the same science a preliminary practice, which requires that the most advanced and obvious obstacles shall be removed, ere the supplying source of the deformity may safely be attacked.

Of this compound nature did we deem the gross military tumor which so long absorbed the vital currents of the army; but that unwholesome protuberance being well removed, we naturally turn to the main duty of the scalpel, and direct its action properly against the secreted cyst.

While Gen. McClellan remained at the head of our armies in the field, and had it in his power to emasculate them as in the Peninsula, paralyze them as at Centreville, and betray them as at Harper's Ferry and Antietam, it was our duty to confine our efforts entirely to him; but now that the country is freed from his hold upon its bridle, and the prospect is, that he must shrink permanently to the nothing he began at, our attention is directly due to the influences which sustained him.

For months our mind was tossed with bewilderment at the spectacle of this young fellow (who had began by threatening "death to all the world"), lapsing into torpor, when, by the simple drawing of his sword, he might have saved his country and made himself a hero. We were puzzled, we say, at this, and as early as June last, for want of other reasons, distinctly stated our belief that McClellen had resigned himself to some unseen direction, which had pledged him not to use the sword, but to depend upon secret negotiations to restore the *entente cordiale* between the infuriated sections.

We confess we did not at first locate our suspicions against Mr. Seward and his associate Mr. Blair. Our thought was that the perverting influence was a disloyal one; and, consequently, we did not expect to find it in the Cabinet. When, however, we learned that McClellan was persistently sustained by Mr. Seward, even after the sacrifice of Harper's Ferry and the escape of Lee; nay, even in the face of his refusal to obey the repeated orders of the President, the entire mystery of our military programme was dispelled, and our philosophic Premier stood revealed as the main danger of the country.

With this cue to help us, we turn back to the career of Seward with the greatest curiosity, and passing over his suspicious early history with Thurlow Weed, their Anti-Masonic campaign with its "good enough Morgan" dodges, we come directly to the part he has performed in connection with the present crisis. Though the aggravating spirit of the issue on the "stump," we find him the yielding Christian of the Senate; and, forgetful of the blazing brands he hurled defiantly against the combustive fabric of Southern institutions while at large, quailed down to plaintive preaching when brought into the domineering presence of the masters of the Temple. His speech in the Senate, in response to the seditious utterings of Davis, Toombs and Wigfall, was entirely unworthy the occasion. Instead of seizing their treason with a giant's grasp, and trampling it underneath his feet in grand disdain, he contented himself with a sophomorical essay on the beauties of the Union, and wended his way weeping to the climax, that he was utterly incredulous the Union could ever be dissolved. Then, he and the good men we have named shook hands all round; it was evidently agreed that the "irrepressible conflicts," "higher law doctrines," and all by-gones, should be forgotten, and not an unkind reference has passed between them since. On the contrary, as in the case of General McClellan, the highest respect is continually expressed throughout all Dixie for our Premier; and while the Southern leaders would

be glad enough to come in "out of the cold," either with slavery or without it, and that our whole endeavors should be devoted to securing the allegiance of the Border States. He therefore commenced the coquetting with those States; and had it not been for the precipitation of the war by the assault on Sumter, those border diplomats would have succeeded in befooling us of the five lower principalities without a blow, and then gravitated toward them, on the principle they had thus cunningly established, away from the dissolving North.

That Mr. Seward deliberately contemplated the temporary separation of the cotton States, is established by many points of evidence, and in nothing is it more manifest than in his letter to Mr. Adams (who, by the bye, is a full disciple of his school), of the 10th of April, 1861. And if we did not know that Mr. Seward is a patriot, though an addled and visionary one, we should regard the doctrines which he enunciates in this strange paper with a most serious suspicion.

Mr. Seward opens this letter to Mr. Adams with an insidious assertion of State sovereignty, quite up to the mark of Fernando Wood. He then laboriously draws a picture of the wide-spread prevalence, nay, almost preponderance of sedition. He next informs Mr. Adams that the government "neither looks for nor apprehends any actual and *permanent* dismemberment of the American Union, *especially by a line of latitude*"; and adds "that the President accepts the cardinal dogma of the South, to wit, that 'the *seceding States cannot be reduced to obedience by conquest*'"

This letter, and its doctrines, have evidently been overlooked in the rush of great events; but we bring it now before the aroused attention of the country, that it may be compared with the more recent demonstrations of Mr. Seward's policy; and that the people may see why the groaning, lumbering ship of State has been so long sailing a wrong course.

We impart no idle apprehensions; we simply have related facts. Letters from Mr. Adams, subsequent to the date of the above alarming paper, have spoken of this war as "a mere question of boundaries," and Mr. John Van Buren (with whom Mr. Seward, during the late New York campaign of Wood and Seymour, was in virtual accord) is now in Washington with his plan for a general convention of the States, or a temporary separation of the "cotton sisters," according to his friend Mr. Seward's programme. There is no more reason, therefore, why Mr. Seward should not entertain the proposals of Prince John in favor of the independence of the South, or their diplomatic conquest of the North, than there was for the entertainment of the insidious proposals of the Border State Commissioners. His main text has been that *diplomacy* and not *military operation* (with all its dangers to himself) should end this revolution; and as Prince John and Seymour, and all their chicken-hearted clique, conscientiously doubt the efficacy of the sword against the South, Seward may seize the present moment to bring his doctrine to a climax.

Against this danger, which we now regard as imminent, we have but one reliance, and that is, that some one will direct the attention of the President to Mr. Seward's letter of the 10th April, 1861, and ask him in plain terms if, while summoning the loyal citizens of the republic by hundreds of thousands to the exposures and sacrifices of the field, he authorized Mr. Seward to inform the world, that "the Federal government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest." If he did not, then Mr. Seward is an unfit and dangerous counsellor for his Administration; but if he did authorize him to so speak, the sooner the people understand that this war is an appalling joke, and the sooner their Governors, under Mr. Seward's doctrine of State rights, recall them to their homes, the better.

There are but two alternatives which the lowering aspect of the crisis places before Mr. Lincoln. He must either disnose of Mr. Seward and use the sword in the full integrity of warfare, or he must put away the sword, and adapt himself to the behests of the two modern Spencers of his Cabinet, and prepare for a surrender to the South. If he fail in the first policy, he will have the consolation at least of falling like a patriot and a gentleman; but if he is captured by the last, there is no destiny before him better than the ignominious end of Edward II.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

THE CABINET AND THE COUNTRY.

We have often, in times gone by, had occasion to contrast the Constitution of the United States with that of Great Britain, and to show wherein its very theoretical perfection really hindered the will of the people from having as ample sway and absolute sovereignty as the English Constitution secures to its subjects. This arises from the unyielding nature of the one and the elasticity innate to the other. Any desirable change, political or politico-economical, which a majority of the British people have made up their minds to have, they are sure to get. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, Catholic Emancipation and the Reform in Parliament are most apparent proofs of this. These measures went to the root of the then existing institutions of Great Britain, and were resisted with the most desperate and persistent resolution. They really amounted to a revolution, though a peaceful one. The principle was virtually admitted that the House of Commons is the government, on the wheels of which the King and the Lords may put drags, but which they cannot block altogether without a general crash of the whole machine. The unyielding character of our Constitution has really been the occasion of a small minority having the control of our affairs up to a very late period, if indeed, the day of its dominion be yet entirely over. The Senate cannot be increased, like the House of Lords, the Congress cannot be dissolved like the House of Commons, the Ministry at the head of affairs can hold their portfolios in spite of any hostile majority. With all the safeguards for a responsible government that words can give us, we are still liable to be governed by an irresponsible Cabinet, who can only be unseated at the pleasure of the President. The President is, theoretically, responsible and liable to impeachment; but how futile such a restraint is upon illegal action the Annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, the Conspiracy against Kansas, and the whole slavery-inspired history of the country, can bear witness.

Had the framers of the Constitution followed the analogy of the British model more closely, instead of trying to make it more logical in its theory, and made the three Houses omnipotent, the President's person inviolable and with ministerial responsibility and the power of dissolving Congress, we should have had a much better government than was cut out for us in 1787. In England, a Prime Minister cannot hold power a moment after he has lost his majority in the House of Commons. Thus, in fact, the English people have a sovereign of their own choosing always reigning over them, with no real intervals of interregnum. Consequently, the progress of legislation in England has been always going on from bad to good, and from good to better. The Abolition of Slavery, the Corn Laws, and Free Trade, so called, were all carried in the teeth of all that caste and class could do to defeat them. And this because the people had made up their minds that these measures were for their honor or advantage. The very question of Recognition and Intervention lies in the breast of the nation and will be decided according as it may dictate, and not at the personal will or wish of Palmerston or Russell. Of course, such a scheme of government here would have had its bitter as well as its sweet. The pro-slavery majorities of past years could have done their pleasure for the comfort and extension of slavery—though they could hardly have done more than they have effected as it is. But slavery would not then have had the sanctuary of the Constitution, of which it has been erected into the idol and the inspiration. It would have stood out on the fair field of open debate, to be attacked and defended like any other institution or measure, and we believe it could not have stood to this day before the sweep and sway of contending parliamentary parties. The rude and coarse machinery of the battle-field might have been anticipated and put aside by the more delicate but mightier enginery of the Senate house. What we have suffered for all along, and do still, is for the want of a responsible Ministry, charged with doing the will of a majority of the National Legislature, and yielding to others as soon as they refuse or are unable to perform that function. But even as it is, we hold that it is unparliamentary and hostile to the spirit of constitutional government that a Cabinet should be continued in office, when it refuses to carry out the policy of the legislative body, or of the Chief of the State when he stands in a constitutional position to dictate it.

The two conditions now coexist. The Congress has shown distinctly its desire to have the policy of Emancipation carried out as the only one that is sufficient for our extremity. The Confiscation Act, if honestly enforced, is a good enough Act of Emancipation, of itself. Then the President, in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief, has indicated the course which he sees to be the only one left conducting to victory and peace. In the exercise of that absolute power with which he is of necessity invested, as Chief of the Nation, he has decreed the destruction of slavery in rebellious districts, after the opening of the new year, and directed the execution of the Confiscation Acts before then, as fast as his armies advance. The accepted time is now. The day of salvation may soon pass away never to return, unless the happy present be seized and compelled to do suit and service to the Right. It is believed, it is not denied, that leading influences in the Cabinet are arrayed against the due performance of the act which alone can save the Nation. That a different policy was the one held by the Secretary of State in the early stages of the rebellion, we all know under his own hand. He believed that the rebellion would go to pieces or be put down, within a specified quantity of days, and slavery receive no detriment in the process. He robbed the country of the sympathy of Europe by these emphatic declarations, and fostered the hostility which our vacillating policy had generated. It is to be taken for granted that he has done all that in him lies to reduce his theories into practice. But he has signally failed. The rebellion declined to be protested at the end of the sixty days and the ninety days which had been proclaimed to be the time it had to run. It also absolutely refused to dig a natural death, but has been growing in health and vigor in defiance of Ministerial prophecies. How far the delays of McClellan and the postponement of the final conflict from last year when the enemy was weak to this year when he is strong, were aided and abetted by the Prime Minister's influence, we may well conjecture, though we may never know. At any rate, his plans have been defeated, his policy has failed. A totally different one has been pronounced by the President, and there is no doubt that he will have all needful help from Congress next Winter. Is this policy to have free course to run and be glorified, or not? On the answer to this question depends the fate of the nation for many years.

When a Sovereign or a General has resolved on a particular course of action, what is the first thing essential to its successful prosecution? A wise choice of instruments, of course. The best laid civil schemes and the most skillfully contrived plans of battle have often gone awry from the blundering, the treachery or the obstinacy of those entrusted with carrying them out. This nation stands now at the very turning-point of its destiny. It needs all the fidelity, all the wisdom, all the courage that can be enlisted in its service. Faith, enthusiasm, self-devotion are what the crisis calls aloud for. Are these qualities to be hoped for from men who have been driven from a diametrically opposite line of action, by the force of events, or been solicited away from it by the danger of forfeiting office? Are we to believe in instantaneous political conversion? Is it possible for men who lately held, who are believed still to hold, the faith that the rebels can be coaxed back to the helm of the nation by the proffer of all our liberties, is it possible for them to carry out in good faith and to its legitimate issues a policy utterly incompatible with such an idea? It seems to us that what the Nation now needs, what it should demand, is, that the Cabinet be reconstructed before the end of the next month with a single eye to the great and absorbing duties to be born with the new year. The President will have Congress with him, let him not have a Cabinet against him, nor yet one divided against itself. It was not good grammar, but it was good sense, that Andrew Jackson uttered when he dismissed his Cabinet because it was no longer "the unit" it was when it came together. We venture to affirm that *he* would not have suffered a Minister near him who was not heart and soul with him. The President has committed himself to a great and glorious course of action. He cannot draw back without infamy. He has Congress with him, the army, and we believe, in spite of the late elections and the insolence of demagogues, that he has the nation with him. He should be surrounded only by men who see eye to eye and are ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with him. He cannot have the confidence of his own well-wishers, so essential to his success, as long as they see men in whom they have no confidence in the responsible posts of Executive representation. His enemies will, of course, make use of all such occasions of offense to thwart and baffle him. We believe he will not be wanting to himself and his country in his preparation, no more than in his action, at the momentous crisis that impends over us.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE will, we suppose, be communicated to the two Houses of Congress on onday next, the first day of the session. It is not likely that we shall print it in full, but our readers may expect to see in our columns the portion thereof setting forth the President's views and purposes in respect to slavery in its relations to the war. The information which reaches us from Washington leads us confidently to expect that he will stand firmly by his proclamation of freedom, and give reasons for so doing that will command the assent of every loyal citizen. The Democratic journals display their anger and disappointment in such language as the following, from a Washington dispatch in the New York *Express*:

"It is now pretty well ascertained that the President's Message will be blacker than his proclamation. The Abolitionists, Wade, Lovejoy & Co., have got him, and 'the whole of him.' He seems to be completely in their power, and to be overawed by them."

It is natural enough, that the pro-slavery Democracy, disappointed in the result of their efforts to "overawe" the President by threats of a revolution at the North, should charge him with servility to the men who elected him. We only hope that he will prove himself worthy of the compliment implied in their abuse.

MERITED TRIBUTE.—The subject of eulogy in the following proceedings was, it is understood, a near kinsman of the Vice-President of the United States.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of "The National Freedman's Relief Society of the District of Columbia," it was

Resolved, That in the death of HANNIBAL HAMLIN, the President of this Society, and one of its founders and chief supporters, we feel that the cause of humanity has lost a wise and zealous, faithful and well-tried friend.

Resolved, That in expressing our sympathy with his family and friends in their affliction, we gladly accept the opportunity of bearing our testimony to the high Christian character, the sound judgment, integrity, truth to principle, and earnest charity, constantly manifested by our late President, during an intimate intercourse with him, as the head and chief working member of our Executive Committee. WM. HENRY CHANNING, Chairman.

N. DUBOIS, Sec'y.
Washington, Nov. 17, 1862.

THE NEW GYMNASTICS.—Mrs. Z. R. Plumb, a graduate of Dr. Dio Lewis's "Normal Institute for Physical Education," is engaged in giving instruction in the new system of Gymnastics in this city and vicinity. She is meeting, we are happy to say, with good success. Her classes are large, embracing some of the most intelligent men and women of New York.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for December contains the following articles: The Procession of the Flowers, by T. W. Higginson; One of my Clients; The Cumberland, a poem, by H. W. Longfellow; The Fossil Man, by Charles L. Brace; Life in the Open Air, by the late Major Winthrop; A Woman, by Rose Terry; About Warwick, by Hawthorne; Lyrics of the Street, by Julia Ward Howe; Mr. Axtel; My Hunt after the Captain, by O. W. Holmes; Waiting, a poem; Reviews and Literary Notices. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

NATIONAL INIQUITY AND ITS FRUITS.

A SERMON,

BY REV. CHARLES B. SMITH,

PASTOR OF THE TRINITARIAN CHURCH, CONCORD, MASS.

Preached Oct. 26, 1862.

"He that soweth iniquity shall reap vanity."—*Proverbs xxii.* 8.

To sow iniquity is to do wrong. To reap vanity is to suffer on account of wrong-doing. The important point of the text is, that conduct determines destiny, as certainly as seed determines the character of the harvest. "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Prosperity and happiness can only result from the practice of right conduct; and right-conduct never fails to produce these results. So also adversity and suffering can only result from the practice of iniquity; and the practice of iniquity never fails to produce these results. All the laws of the Creator for the control of moral beings are as unyielding as the laws that govern the material world. If you sow wheat, you will reap wheat. If you sow tares, you will reap tares. "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles." No more does peace and prosperity result as the fruit of iniquity. Seed always produces its like—and this law of production is as immutable in the spiritual as the material world. It operates with the same certainty upon nations as upon individuals; for nations are only the aggregation of individuals.

But we have in the present state of being a more forcible illustration of the principle in nations than in individuals. Individual life here is too brief to allow most of the seed sown to produce its legitimate harvest. Hence the necessity of future retribution to individuals. But though individuals die, nations live on. As individuals fall, others rise to take their places; and thus the tide of national life is kept full, and constantly flowing on. As national life is more enduring than individual, so the seed sown has a better opportunity to produce a harvest. For retribution to individuals we must look to a future state; but retribution to nations must come in the present state. It is one of the most unaccountable and astounding facts in the history of this world, that people who universally desire peace and prosperity almost universally and constantly practice iniquity, with the most confident expectation that this will produce the fruits of righteousness; when all nature, and all history, and the Word of God, unitedly and persistently declare that such a result is utterly impossible. It is as though people should eat the most deadly poison, as the best method of producing vigorous life, in spite of the laws of nature, and all the facts of science and of history; and should persist in doing this generation after generation, although it is known to produce death in every instance. It is as though the farmers should sow the seed of the most noxious weeds in their fields, and expect to reap a harvest of wheat; and should persist in doing this, year after year, although not a single kernel of wheat was ever produced from such seed, and it is absolutely certain that there never can be. No sane person conducts in this way in regard to the laws of life and vegetation. And yet men almost universally conduct in precisely this way in reference to moral action and destiny.

Individuals and nations will persist in the practice of iniquity, notwithstanding the absolute certainty that to practice iniquity is to produce disaster and ruin. Our own nation is a remarkable illustration of the principle under consideration. Seldom, if ever, has the fruit of iniquity ripened so rapidly and abundantly in any nation as in our own. For no one can be so stupid as not to know that such a harvest as we are now reaping is not produced by the works of righteousness. When the most terrible calamities come upon us, we know that they must be the fruit of iniquity; and when we know of one iniquity which includes all others, it is great folly to search with magnifying glass for some smaller seed, which may possibly have produced such a harvest. When we have the sum of all villanies, we know that such a harvest can be produced only by the same; and when we know that the sum of all villanies is practiced, we need not look farther for the seed which has produced the harvest. Everybody knows that slavery has produced the calamities we are now suffering. I do not intend, therefore, to dwell upon the fact that slavery has produced these results, but propose to show that the nation, as such, has sowed this iniquity, and is reaping only what it has sown. It would seem to be wholly unnecessary to attempt to show this, were it not for the fact that it is very generally and persistently denied that the nation is responsible for the existence and perpetuity of slavery. If it be true that the nation is not guilty of this iniquity, then it is reaping what it did not sow, contrary to an immutable law. Since it is so generally maintained that the nation does not uphold slavery and cannot rightfully destroy it, it becomes necessary to show that the nation is guilty of this iniquity, in order to show that it is reaping what it has sown, and to learn that wisdom which the experience teaches.

The indictment, then, which I bring against the nation is, that it does now and always has upheld slavery. Now for the evidence upon the indictment. And here let me say at the outset, that although, for the want of time, I shall have to pass many facts with the bare statement, and many without statement, I hold myself responsible to substantiate every fact and statement which I adduce.

When it was proposed to construct the ship of State, a most excellent model was formed in the Constitution. The specifications were all made, and the agreement entered into, to construct a sound, beautiful, sea-worthy ship. But among the parties to the agreement were a number of wreckers and pirates, who insisted upon putting in rotten timbers. Every honest man protested against it, and predicted disaster as the result. But the pirates blustered and threatened, and the nation yielded. In violation of the model, and the most solemn agreement to build a sound, comely ship, the nation put in the rotten, worm-eaten timbers of slaveholding States upon one side. The contract was broken, her symmetry destroyed, her value greatly diminished, and she was launched in a leaky condition. Thus water-logged at the outset, she started on her perilous voyage. Although the nation declared that all men by nature are free, and established the Constitution and the government for the express purpose of more perfect security in life, liberty and property to all the people, it allowed a part of the people still to be enslaved. The nation declares the Constitution to be the supreme law of the land, and binds itself to protect every person under it in life, liberty and property. No person, therefore, can be permanently deprived of these without the consent of the nation. By allowing any State under the Federal government to enslave any persons, it became responsible for their enslavement. Thus did the government virtually establish slavery when it was formed.

In 1820 the nation agreed to have slavery immensely extended beyond its then present boundaries. For this purpose it gave up a vast territory to the control of slavery, and took a new slaveholding State under the protection of the government.

The Florida war, with all its horrid barbarities and crimes, was the nation's war in behalf of slavery. The wife of Osceola, the Indian chief, was a fugitive slave. The attempt to rob the noble chieftain of his wife, and drag her back to slavery, led to the Florida war—to prosecute which for the benefit of slavery the nation imported Cuban bloodhounds for the diabolical purpose of hunting down and murdering a weak and helpless people.

The nation robbed Mexico of her territories, and prosecuted the Mexican war for the purpose of extending and strengthening slavery.

The Atherton gag, forbidding the freedom of speech and the right of petition, which the progress of events has well-nigh obliterated from the memory, was the nation's act for the protection of slavery.

The Fugitive Slave act, which made every citizen a human bloodhound to chase and drag back fugitive slaves to slavery, was the nation's act for the purpose of upholding slavery.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the nation's act, done under the most aggravating circumstances, for the express purpose of removing every obstacle in the way of slavery, and allowing it to go wherever it pleased. In violation of a most sacred pledge to maintain freedom forever in certain territory, the nation broke down the only barrier, and said to slavery, Go where you please. And slavery rushed into Kansas like a starving tiger, murdering innocent, peaceable citizens by hundreds.

For the benefit of slavery, the nation put chains around Boston Court House, and cannon at the head of Court street, and manacles upon an innocent citizen.

To pacify slavery, the nation thrust Hyatt into prison for no crime, and laid violent hands upon a peaceable citizen of Concord.

In violation of its constitutional obligations, the nation has persistently refused to protect its citizens in any State when the minions of slavery have assailed them.

When an agent of the State of States was sent to get redress of slavery for kidnapping her citizens, he was defiantly driven home by slavery without redress, and the State and nation said, Let it be so; let slavery continue to kidnap.

In order to justify itself in upholding slavery by every possible means, the nation has unblushingly declared, through its highest tribunal, that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect. When the enslaved have attempted to gain their liberties, the nation has promptly put forth its powerful arm to hold them in slavery.

The National Congress, for the past twenty years especially, has done little else than to legislate for the interest of slavery.

Every time the nation has expressed itself in the choice of its Executive officer, it has demanded that he should be in favor of continuing slavery.

Slavery has uniformly represented the nation in foreign Courts. Nearly every Foreign Minister whom the nation has sent abroad has been either a slaveholder or in favor of perpetuating slavery.

The nation has given slavery the control of the army and navy. Almost every officer of the army and navy has been a slaveholder or a violent advocate for slavery. And after slavery had raised its ruthless hand to destroy the nation, the nation still has given slavery the control of its army and navy to parry off the deadly blow. All through this horrid rebellion the nation has either removed or paralyzed every General who attempted to injure slavery, and put those in command of the army who were notoriously wedded to slavery.

All these counts, and many others not named, have been distinctively national acts for upholding slavery. These are the political aspects of the case.

Let us look next at the educational and religious developments in reference to slavery. These are not strictly national, but they illustrate more forcibly if possible the complicity of the people with slavery. The people constitute the nation.

The papers and periodicals of the country are the great educators of the people. These, both secular and religious, with few exceptions, have advocated slavery. The school-books for the education of the children and youth throughout the country have been prepared with the most rigid regard to slavery.

The religious denominations throughout the country, with scarcely an exception, have maintained that slavery had a right to a place in the Christian Church, and have baptized it in the name of the Holy Trinity, and welcomed it to the fellowship of the saints. Nearly every religious organization, representing the religious sentiment of the country, has given its influence in favor of slavery.

The American Bible Society, representing the leading denominations of the country, from regard to slavery, has refused to give the Bible to the enslaved. It has also refused to accept large amounts of money for this purpose.

The Sabbath School Societies—also representing the leading sects of the country—have prepared their books for the moral instruction of the young with special reference to the welfare of slavery.

The Tract Society, claiming to represent all evangelical Christians, has persistently refused to utter a word upon slavery, except in its favor. It has repeatedly and most grossly mutilated and misrepresented the noblest authors in order to uphold slavery.

Missionary organizations, representing the religious sentiment of the country, have been conducted upon the policy of upholding slavery. They have solicited and received men and money from slavery to promote the Missionary cause. They have organized and sustained slaveholding Churches, and have so conducted the Missionary enterprise as to make the Gospel of the blessed God uphold slavery.

Until recently, the religious teachers throughout the country, with few exceptions, have given their voice and influence in favor of slavery; and no one could speak faithfully against slavery without being driven from his pulpit by those who controlled it.

So universal and powerful has been the religious sentiment of the country in favor of slavery, that the truth of Mr. Barnes's statement has never been questioned—that there was no power out of the Church that could uphold slavery if it were not upheld in it.

The most inveterate hostility has been universally and constantly developed against those who have striven to have slavery abolished; almost every species of persecution that skill and hate could devise has been practiced towards such to prevent them from accomplishing the abolition of slavery.

At this very time, when slavery has the nation by the throat, and is spilling its heart's blood, so in love with slavery are the government and the people, that whenever the proposition is made to destroy it and save the nation, a general clamor is raised against any such attempt. Time and again has the President declared that the people would not sustain him in proclaiming emancipation. So determined is the nation to uphold slavery that it is willing to hazard its own existence rather than destroy it. With all these counts upon the indictment, does any one need to be convinced that the nation has and does uphold slavery?

Having shown that the nation has sown this iniquity, it remains to notice the fruit of such sowing, and the remedy of such a harvest.

Before proceeding to notice the fruit, let us consider for a moment the character of the seed sown? Is it good, or bad? The definition of our jurists is, that slavery is depriving men of every natural right. Not only may it deprive men of the avails of their labor, but of life also, if it chooses. If this is right-eousness and justice, what is unrighteousness and injustice? If this is not iniquity, what is? Conceding it to be iniquity, it is monstrous iniquity. No higher crime can be committed; for it not only takes every right from man, but every right from the Creator. By usurping absolute control over man, it usurps authority over the Almighty, and would hurl him from his throne. Not only is slaveholding the highest crime in its nature, but it is enormous in magnitude. The sum total is reached by multiplying the highest crime by millions, and these millions by every moment that slavery has been upheld by the nation. If such enormity of guilt as this can go unpunished; if a nation can deny and violate every law and precept of the Almighty, and every principle of righteousness and justice, and perpetuate the highest possible crimes against a whole race of people, and persist in doing so generation after generation, and not suffer retribution, who can believe in any moral government over moral beings? But it never has been and never can be so. When a nation sows such seed as this, it must reap a harvest of retribution corresponding to what it has sown.

Let me direct your attention for a few moments, then, to some of the legitimate fruits of slavery.

Its first fruits are ignorance and poverty. It is impossible to hold men in slavery unless they are kept in ignorance. To keep them in ignorance, the means of knowledge must be kept beyond their reach. To introduce schools and school-books into a slaveholding community would be to bring the means of knowledge within reach of the enslaved. Hence the necessity of excluding them, and keeping the entire community in ignorance. General ignorance among all classes is inevitable in all slaveholding communities.

Poverty is another essential result of slaveholding. Labor is the source of wealth, and the productions of labor are in proportion to the motive to labor. When all motive to labor is withheld from the laboring class, the source of wealth is dried up. As slavery offers no motive to labor, it fails, of necessity, to secure the fruits of labor. The soil is exhausted and left a barren waste. The skill and energy essential to productive labor lie dormant, and poverty is the result. It is notorious that barrenness and poverty follow in the track of slavery wherever it goes.

Slavery also suppresses the freedom of speech. To allow the freedom of speech would be to fire the magazine and blow up the whole slave system. The suppression of free discussion, therefore, is essential to the perpetuity of slavery.

Another effect of slavery is to contaminate and debauch the public conscience. To allow its existence is to admit its claims. It claims protection from all who consent to its existence; and all such are driven to the necessity of advocating its right to exist, in order to exculpate themselves for consenting to its existence. It being a monstrous iniquity, no one can justify himself, by any right reasoning, in consenting to its existence for a moment. The only pretence of justification, therefore, must come from sophistry, and falsehood, and absurdity. And these have been used in defense of slavery until the moral sense is well nigh obliterated. Public conscience is terribly debauched. Evil is put for good, and good for evil. Villany and crime are confounded with honesty and justice. The public teachers of morality and religion become blind leaders of the blind. The science of law and government becomes a grab-game for power and profit. Men of the most distinguished abilities and of the noblest impulses are so corrupted by contact with slavery as to become a stench in the nostrils of those, even, who have themselves been accustomed to inhale polluted air. Let two conspicuous cases illustrate the power of slavery in corrupting the noblest men. Clay and Webster were by nature great and noble. Clay began his public career as the President of an Anti-Slavery Society, declaring that all men by nature are free. But, by contact with slavery, he closed his career declaring that "that is property which the law makes property"; "If you will not let us have black slaves, we will have white ones." Compare Webster's speech of 1820 with the 7th of March, 1850. Never were more terrible and eloquent denunciations uttered against slavery than by Webster in 1820. "I hear," said he, "the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. Let that spot be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it." I need not repeat what he said on the 7th of March, 1850. Who that revered these great statesmen does not feel sad when he remembers what slavery did with them? But how much more deplorable to contemplate a whole nation debauched and degraded to the infamy of upholding such horrid iniquity as slavery! This is the inevitable fruit of slavery.

Slavery also produces anarchy and bloodshed. While it denies to men every natural right, it can never annihilate the innate love of liberty in all men. This love of liberty, and the sense of injustice in being deprived of it, leads to a perpetual struggle to be free. Slavery is a war of conquest upon all who are enslaved, and can be maintained only by brute force. As force is the only authority, and men can never be made to acknowledge its authority, there is of necessity a conflict. Slavery is war against all the enslaved; it is war against all who oppose it; and, finally, war against all who refuse to yield to its demands. And its demands are such that men will never peaceably yield to them. Anarchy and bloodshed, therefore, are inevitable. These compose the sum total of all calamities that can come upon a nation. And these are the fruits of slavery which the nation is now reaping with the certainty that it is reaping only what it has sown. It has sown to the wind, and it is reaping the whirlwind.

Look over this broad land, by nature the glory of all lands, with every facility for wealth, and power, and happiness, and behold it red with blood and draped in mourning, well nigh bankrupt, tottering in feebleness upon the brink of destruction, and agonized from centre to circumference! Witness the terror and dismay, the destitution and suffering, the wailing and woe all over the land, and know that these are the fruits of slavery which the nation has sown. Every man who has fallen in this conflict has been murdered by slavery. Every heart that bleeds in agony on account of these murders has been crushed by slavery. All the suffering and woe that is yet to come upon the nation by this terrible contest will be the fruit of slavery. The nation has persisted in sowing this iniquity, and now is reaping the harvest. Will the people learn wisdom by the experiment?

It would seem that the history of the past, by the long and thorough experiment tried, and the knowledge of the immutable law that seed produces its like, might convince every one, by this time, that peace and prosperity can never be produced from such sowing. But such is not the fact. It is still maintained that tares will produce wheat; that iniquity will produce peace and prosperity. Whenever it is proposed to try the experiment of raising wheat by sowing wheat, the people, with almost united voice, declare that wheat will not produce wheat. Tares will produce wheat, and nothing else. Righteousness and justice will not produce peace and prosperity; iniquity, and nothing else, will.

Whenever it is proposed to cease to do evil and learn to do well, and thus change the seed by destroying the tares and sowing wheat, the nation protests against such an attempt as impracticable and fanatical. To every inquiry for the remedy of such awful calamities as we are now suffering, the uniform and almost unanimous answer is, continue to sow the same iniquity which has produced them. To do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with God, is declared to be most unwise and dangerous. Different methods are proposed to rid the nation of its present calamities, but nearly all agree that the seed must not be changed. Righteousness and justice must not be done. Sink or swim, live or die, the iniquity of slavery must be continued. Nothing must be held so sacred, and protected at such dreadful cost, as the "sum of all villanies."

I come now to consider some of the methods proposed to save the nation:

1. A large and influential class advocate compromise as the only way to save the nation. Compromise matters in any way that will induce the rebels to come back and oversee the nation. This is the clamor for the same old policy of compromise, for the sake of power and profit, that has controlled the nation from the first. What has been the history of the nation but a perpetual attempt to pacify slavery and live with it in peace? Cotton-mongers and shoe-dealers, manufacturers and merchants, commerce and lust, the bench and the bar, the press and the forum, the pulpit and the pew, politics and religion, the State and the Church, have all done their utmost to maintain peace with slavery; and behold as the result, whirlwind and storm, agitation and war, wailing and woe.

2. Another method proposed to save the nation, is to conquer the rebels, but save as much of slavery as possible in doing so. This is the method which the government proposes. It is somewhat different in some of its details, but essentially the same as the first. It says to the rebels, through the President, you may have ninety days, with all your slaves and the aid of foreign nations, if you can get it, to do your best towards establishing slavery on a permanent basis; if you cannot do it in that time and way, then on the last day of grace, it you will represent yourselves in Congress, your slavery, which you have been fighting to save, shall not be molested. If you will not do this, then your slaves may be free, if they get free. The government will not lift a finger, even then, to help the slaves to liberty; but it will not put them into slavery again if they get free, as it has done heretofore. Let me give you the precise language of the President. "The Executive government will *recognize* and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to *repress* such persons in any efforts *they* may make for their actual freedom." How many will be likely to get free by such emancipation? The most that I can make of the great proclamation is, that after next January the nation will no longer hold the slaves of rebels for them, as it has done hitherto. But the iniquity of slavery the nation will not put away. Everybody knows that it has been a disturbing element from the first; a constant source of irritation and strife, which no effort could prevent; yet the nation is determined still to uphold it. Rotten timbers were put into the Ship of State when she was built, and the rot has been extending ever since, endangering all on board. Being unsound and leaky to start with, it has required the greatest effort to keep her afloat. Every time she has encountered a healthy breeze, the rotton timbers have groaned and cried dissolution. Although without a breeze, she was known to be drifting upon the breakers with the certainty of fate, every effort has been made to keep her in smooth waters, to preserve the rotten timbers. Never in a single instance has the nation even proposed to disturb slavery; but time and again has it protested that it would not, and declared its willingness to do anything possible to perpetuate it. Let it be remembered that it was under the influence of a great Peace Congress to pacify slavery, and with the recommendation of the government to amend the Constitution so as to make it uphold slavery to the end of time, that the Ship of State went upon the breakers and bilged. And, now, with a dreadful hole in her side, with a torrent of water rushing in, and the ship going down with all on board; instead of working the pumps which are in good condition, and stopping the hole which is accessible, the shipmaster calls upon the crew to take their teaspoons and begin cautiously to bale the ship. After waiting patiently for the result of a cautious use of the teaspoons, and seeing that the ship is still sinking, and must certainly go down by this process, he proclaims to all on board that after ninety days, if the ship does not sink before, and the water does not cease to flow, he shall permit them to stop a part of the hole; protesting that the leak must not be entirely stopped, unless the water consents. It declares that he shall mend the ship if possible with all the rotten timbers in; if this cannot be done, he shall keep as many in as possible and save the ship from sinking. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it," says the President; "if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that." This is the method by which the government would save the nation. The method of saving the ship by keeping open the leak.

3. Another method proposed by great numbers is to hang the Abolitionists. This, it must be confessed, would be a master-stroke of policy. As though the Massachusetts fishermen, down in the bay, with an enormous draught of fish, should destroy all their salt. To save a sinking ship, keep open the leak and kill all who would stop it. To save a burning house, banish the water and blow the fire. To raise wheat, destroy the seed and sow tares. While convulsed in every nerve, and bleeding at every pore, and gasping for the breath of life, by the deadly wounds of the serpent slavery, which they have hugged and warmed in their bosom, they cry Kill the Abolitionists, who alone would kill the monster and save their lives. This method has been tried somewhat already. It was tried when John Brown was hung. It was tried when Torrey was murdered. It was tried when Lovejoy fell. It was tried upon the Puritans of England and the Huguenots of France. It was tried by the inquisition of Spain. It was tried upon the reformers of the sixteenth century. It was tried by the Jews for the peace of Jerusalem, when the hated Nazarene was put to death. It has been tried by all tyrants since the world began, and what has been the result? Behold the fate of Jerusalem and the Jews! the one a desolate ruin, and the other scattered and peeled; a hissing and bye-word among all nations! Look at the result of this method in every instance where tried, and say shall it be tried still farther?

These are the principal methods which have been tried to save the nation with slavery; and what has been the result of them all? Let the heart-burnings and strifes, the violence and murders which slavery has produced answer. Let that vast region of country where war, like a sirocco, has laid everything in ruin answer. Let a depleted, cringing, starving, ruined South, ruled by fiends incarnate, which slavery has produced, answer. Let the graves of two hundred thousand Northern freemen answer. Let the butcheries upon all the battle-fields answer. Let the crowded hospitals all over the country answer. Let the sorrow and woe in thousands of homes answer. Let a nation of thirty million, with the best chance a nation ever had to become prosperous and happy, convulsed from centre to circumference, and dying in agony answer. These are thy fruits, O slavery! and these the results of all such methods to save the nation with slavery. The nation has upheld slavery for wealth, and power, and lust; and behold poverty, and imbecility, and rottenness.

4. Another method of saving the nation is that which the Abolitionists propose: immediate and universal emancipation. This is the method of salting the fish to save them; of stopping the leak to save the ship; of doing righteousness to secure peace and prosperity. This way of salvation, which the law of God, the immutable laws of nations, and all history, make as clear as the noonday sun, is the only possible way. The nation cannot be induced to try it. Rejecting the counsels of the only true prophets, the nation still calls for lying prophets to prophesy falsely. I affirm without hesitation that the most far-seeing, wise, discreet men in the nation are the Abolitionists. If this is denied, and I know it is, I appeal to all history and the Almighty for the truth of what I say. They alone have advocated right principles, and adopted a wise policy. So wonderfully do all transpiring events, as well as all history, point to their method for saving the nation, that it is quite probable the nation would have adopted it long ago, but for the chagrin and mortification of yielding to those who have been so long hated and denounced. But humiliating as it is, and however reluctant, the nation must come to this or perish.

Times without number, and many years ago, amid jeers and ridicule, the Abolitionists predicted the very events which have already come to pass, if slavery were continued. Every reflecting man knows that had slavery been abolished, according to the counsel of the Abolitionists, the nation would have lived in peace and prosperity. They have showed, by the immutable laws of nature and of God, that there is no possibility of peace and prosperity with such iniquity. They have adduced numerous instances where their method has been tried, and has accomplished all that was anticipated and much more. They have showed that it has never failed when tried. They have showed that every other method has always and utterly failed. It is not hazardous, therefore, to assert that the nation never *will* and never *can* have peace and prosperity until it proclaims liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof, and protects all in their liberty. This was the original contract; and this the nation must fulfil or perish. My council, then, is for a sound ship, from keel to topmast, from stem to stern, for immediate and universal emancipation, as just and wise. And when the nation is disenthralled, let it proclaim liberty to all the world, for all men by nature are entitled to be free. Not only freedom to the African, but freedom to all who are unjustly oppressed, of every nation and clime. Liberty to all who are

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24, 1862.

A WEEK from to-day Mr. Lincoln will send in his message. It is looked for by all parts of the country and the world with interest and anxiety. Everybody, be he American, Englishman or Frenchman, recognizes the fact that this country has approached the hour which will decide its fate. I think there can be no question that the next six months will either see the rebellion "in the course of extinction," or a triumphant revolution. By the first of next June the Southern armies will have been whipped, the principal Southern cities taken, and the rebellion generally will be upon its last legs—or the question will be settled against us, and separation be inevitable. It is therefore of the utmost importance just now to ascertain the sentiments of the Executive upon the most important questions connected with the war. Will Mr. Lincoln stand squarely by his proclamation? Will he take strong ground generally against traitors, compromisers and the white-feather politicians? Much depends upon his own view of the situation; for if he be weak now, we are lost. If he be bold and valiant, he has many, very many chances of success.

I feel confident from all I hear about me that the President will stand firm upon the proclamation, that he will not retreat one inch from the position he has taken, but that he will go further than his military proclamation goes, and urge emancipation upon Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and the other border slave States. He will cling, doubtless, to his old ideas on this subject—he will still offer to compensate the loyal masters of these States, but *emancipation* will be his theme and his continued object. It will be a great thing for the President to stand boldly by his proclamation. One has but to notice the attempts making to induce him to revoke the proclamation, to admit the importance of firmness on his part at the present time, if he never had it before, or is never to have it again. Boldness and firmness!—give us these, "father Abraham," for the next six months, and the country is saved!

John Van Buren has been down here, but he has made nothing by his visit. There is nobody *here* who talks of *compromise and peace*. A few believe that *separation and peace* are possible, but none talk of a compromise.

A few members are flocking in, and they are of the right stripe so far—the men to stand by the President and encourage him in his determination to stand by the right though disasters come thick and fast upon us. He had better fail trying to do right and to give freedom to a race, than to fail doing wrong and utterly refusing to mete out justice to four million of men made to serve the rebels as beasts of burden. The Peace Democrats are not going to have any influence over the President this Winter. The Border State men will not have much either. They have generally broken with Mr. Lincoln, and they cannot come back to him and argue the question over again. Such men as Crittenden, Wadsworth and Guthrie of Kentucky, and Leary, Calvert and Webster of Maryland, cannot influence him *now* upon this question of slavery. The anti-slavery men of those States *can*. Casey of Kentucky, Joseph Holt of the same State, and others I might mention, are emancipationists, and the favorites of the Administration, as they should be. For a time Mr. Holt stood out, but he is out-spoken now, as I understand, backing up the emancipation proclamation squarely. If our armies only push ahead, win victories, and the President stands firm (as he will), we shall win multitudes of converts to the emancipation doctrines in the border slave States before Spring comes. There are indications of this already. Thousands in the border slave States are simply waiting to see if the government is going to be successful *in the war*, before they come out in favor of emancipation. When they see (if they ever do) that the government is to win in this great struggle, they will go in at once *for radical measures*. I can see men around me in this place, old-fashioned pro-slavery men, slaveholders and the like, who are rapidly shifting their ground from that of defending slavery to that of the advocacy of emancipation. It is almost a miracle that such men as Holt of Kentucky, Maynard of Tennessee, and Parson Brownlow should have come to be emancipationists. One who has known them in the past can hardly credit his senses, and yet this is but a beginning of the miracles we shall see if the President is firm, and our Generals can win victories upon the field of battle.

The friends of Gen. McClellan at this point are now claiming that Burnside is executing his plans. Of course. Everybody knew that this would be *claimed* if Burnside did anything. In any event little Mac's friends are fully prepared to make him advantage by the result. If there is failure, they will cry, "We told you so! The government displaced the only great General we had, and disaster was the consequence. *We* knew it would be so!" And if Burnside goes on and takes Richmond, they will cry with a still louder voice, "He is carrying out the plans of his old leader—that is all. McClellan himself would have been in Richmond a month earlier!" Never had a man more devoted friends than George B. McClellan—devoted unto death. To save his reputation they will do anything—but tell the truth. What does this all mean? It must be that they mean *to use* the General hereafter as a political chieftain. That is it exactly. The General is better than many of his friends, for as a man and gentleman he is almost faultless. He is kind, generous, just, and always courteous, and has only failed *as a General*. If his friends possessed a tithe of his good qualities, they would let him rest in peace.

Gen. Burnside has made slow progress during the past week, but the weather has been such as to render a rapid movement impossible. He is not exactly in Fredericksburg either, but is opposite the town, and probably made the handsome residence of Col. Lacy his headquarters. This Lacy is the monster who broke his mother's will—a will that gave a hundred slaves their freedom. Lacy broke the will on a quibble, and consigned the whole hundred to life-long bondage. He has since been captured by our forces, and, unless I mistake, is still in one of the government prisons.

There is much speculation as to the prospect of an immediate battle in the vicinity of Fredericksburg. It is impossible yet to say what the rebels are going to do. The change in the position of our main army has produced much confusion both at Richmond and in Washington. Jackson, it is said, still remains at Winchester, but it is safe to predict that he will not long remain there if Burnside gets safely across the Rappahannock and pushes on for Richmond. The rebels know how to concentrate their entire strength on an emergency even if we do not, and they will never permit a great battle to be fought between Fredericksburg and Richmond with Jackson absent.

Gen. Burnside's sentiments respecting the war and slavery are very satisfactory. He believes that slavery is the chief cause of the war, and has no respect whatever for it. He was a Douglas Democrat, but I hear from those who know him intimately that he is as good as a Republican now. And by that I mean that he is not a Peace Democrat, and has no sympathy whatever with the Woods and Seymours and that tribe—none whatever. His sympathy is with the President, and he stands heartily and honestly by him in his emancipation proclamation. It is too early to pronounce judgment upon Gen. Burnside's military abilities, but we know him to be a frank, honest man and a dutiful citizen. He has no projects for himself, is no politician, and is ready to obey his superiors on the instant. If he succeeds, he will never be a dangerous man, for he has no political ambition, and he has too much industry and good sense to make a disgraceful failure. Herein he differs from Gen. Pope. Pope lacked common sense. His words were full of boasting, and his accounts of battles were invariably false. Exaggeration was as natural to him as to breathe. I don't know which he enjoyed most, a cigar and a copy of the New York *Herald*, or to write a grandiloquent dispatch. Burnside is as modest as he is brave. He is not a new character in this war, and the country has known him long enough to ascertain his manly qualities. Whether he can succeed as the commander of two hundred thousand troops is another thing, for heretofore he has had but twenty thousand under his control.

AVON.

VERMONT FOREVER!—We take pride, as a native of the Green Mountain State, in saying that her Legislature has refused to repeal the Personal Liberty law enacted there several years ago. The Committee appointed on the Revision of the Statutes, consisting of Judge Bennett and other learned lawyers, struck out the most important provisions of the law, alleging them to be unconstitutional; but the honest farmers and mechanics in the Legislature were of a different mind, and the provisions in question were restored by a vote of 127 to 46.

A FREE PAPER IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—Mr. French, in his discourse at the Church of the Puritans last Sunday evening, stated that arrangements had been made to establish a newspaper at Beaufort or Hilton Head, to be called *The Southern Cross*, and to be devoted to the dissemination of truth in respect to the military, industrial and educational movements in the Southern Department. It will, of course, advocate the President's policy of emancipation, and record the progress made from time to time in carrying it into effect. C. C. Leigh, Secretary of the National Freedmen's Association, corner of Walker st. and Broadway, will be the agent of the paper in this city.

MR. FROTHINGHAM'S SERMONS.—Some of the most intelligent and thoughtful of our readers have testified, in private letters, their high appreciation of the discourses of Rev. O. B. Frothingham, which have from time to time appeared in our columns. We have before us now a letter from a friend of the cause, whose good opinion is valued by all who know him, from which we venture to transcribe this sentence: "One of the nearest approaches to improving on perfection is the publication in THE STANDARD of such sermons as that of Rev. O. B. Frothingham in the number for Nov. 15."

MR. WELD'S LECTURES.—*The Liberator* of last week says: "We learn from persons who were present, that Mr. Weld was greeted at Lynn with a most crowded and attentive audience, filling completely the largest church in that city—the first Methodist. He was heard with most rapt attention for an hour and a half. Next Sunday he occupies again the desk at Music Hall; and on the Sunday after, it is expected he will be at Fitchburg. On the Sunday following (the 7th of December) he will attend the annual meeting of the County Anti-Slavery Society at Worcester."

ABOLITION TENDENCIES OF THE WAR.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from La Grange, Tenn., Nov. 7, says: "On my way here, and since joining the army of the Tennessee, I have been more than ever impressed with the Abolition tendencies of the war. Numerous officers, from Generals to Lieutenants, whom I might name, that, at the begining of the troubles, were violently pro-slavery, have now become as decidedly anti-slavery in their feelings and opinions; proving that the longer the struggle is protracted, the earlier and nearer will be the doom of the peculiar institution." This is but a specimen of information that reaches us from more than one division of the army.

FREE LECTURES FOR WOMEN.—A course of free lectures for women, by Mrs. Eliza W. Farnham, M.D., will be commenced at the Cooper Institute (Music Hall, fourth floor), on Wednesday next, Dec. 3, at 2 o'clock, p. m., and be continued on Wednesdays and Fridays, at the same hour, for several weeks. Subject—The Laws of Health and Human Development, in their application to the women of the present day. Mrs. Farnham is an able lecturer, and will doubtless have large audiences. An opportunity to gain such instruction as her lectures afford, "without money and without price," is not often presented.

OBITUARY.

DIED, in Boston, on Tuesday, 18th inst., of typhus fever, GERTRUDE, only daughter and child of Mrs. Lucy N. Colman, of Rochester, N. Y., aged 17 years.

In this sudden and sorrowful dispensation, the before widowed, but now desolated mother shares deeply in the sympathy of a wide circle of friends. May He who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb shed around her, in this dark hour, the sunshine of his tenderest love!

The deceased had just commenced the study of medicine, and was uncommonly intelligent, mature, and promising for her years.

"Where is thy home, thou angel bright?
O tell us from thy rest
What bounteous visions fill thy sight?
What loves delight thy breast?
What glories light thy home above,
To outer sense unknown?
And, oh! what faithful bosoms move
In union with thine own?"

—*Liberator*.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

THE army of the Potomac is on the Rappahannock, over against Fredericksburg. Gen. Sumner demanded the surrender of the place, naming the hour when he would proceed to shell it if the demand were not complied with. The bombardment, however, had not commenced at last advices. There are preparations on both sides for a great battle.

We have stirring news from New Orleans. A series of orders has recently been issued by Gen. Butler, which serve as additional proof that no difficulty can arise in his Department which he is not able to grasp. The property within the District recently possessed by our forces under Gen. Weitzel, to be known as the Lafourche District, is declared sequestered, and all sales or transfers of it are forbidden. This District comprises all the Territory of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi, excepting the parishes of Plaquemine and Jefferson. A Commission is appointed to take possession of the District, and the sugar plantations are to be worked by them where they are not worked by their owners, and negro or white labor may be employed at discretion. All property belonging to disloyal persons is to be inventoried and sold for the benefit of the government, under the provisions of the Confiscation Act. Another order suppresses distilleries and other manufactories of strong drink. Another one announces that any officer found drinking intoxicating liquors in any public drinking-place will be recommended to the President for dismissal from the service. Another one suppresses the newspaper known as the *National Advocate*, for an improper publication. Still another prohibits the arrest of any slave unless the person arresting knows that such slave is owned by a loyal citizen. Gen. Shepley, as Military Governor of the State, has also issued two important orders. One directs an election of two members of Congress from the First and Second Congressional Districts of the State. The election is appointed for the 3d of December, and is to fill vacancies in the Thirty-seventh Congress. The other exempts household goods from seizure to the amount of $300.

Rebel Retaliation.

The Richmond *Enquirer*, of the 22d, contains the following:

We have obtained a copy of the order which has been issued by the President relative to the reported massacre at Palmyra, an account of which we published a few days ago. We publish it to let the people see the stern and just action which the President has taken in the matter:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, RICHMOND, Nov. 17, 1862.

Lieut.-Gen. T. J, HOLMES, *Commanding Trans-Mississippi Department.*

GENERAL: Inclosed you will find a slip from the Memphis *Daily Appeal* of the 3d inst., containing an account, purporting to be derived from the Palmyra (Missouri) *Courier*, a Federal journal, of the murder of ten Confederate citizens, of Missouri, by order of Gen. McNeil of the U. S. army.

You will communicate by flag of truce to the Federal officer commanding that Department, and ascertain if the facts are as stated. If they be so, you will demand the immediate surrender of Gen. McNeil to the Confederate authorities, and if this demand is not complied with, you will inform said commanding officer that you are ordered to execute the first ten United States officers who may be captured and fall into your hands Very respectfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

FROM TENNESSEE.—A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* writes from Lagrange, Tennessee, under date of November 7: "About the time of our arrival a squad of cavalry reported to Gen. McPherson that they had found the bodies of five negroes, who had evidently been murdered. No information could be procured concerning the affair, but the indications were that they had been killed while attempting to escape to the Federal lines. The slaves who escape from below occasionally tell frightful tales of brutality on the part of their masters whenever they suspect them of a design of escaping. Vague rumors have reached us of the burning of several negroes in northern Louisiana a few days ago. None of the negroes have any positive knowledge of the occurrence, but the rumor coming through various sources, has a sad appearance of reality.

"The influx of negroes since the army reached this point has been quite large. Four or five hundred set their faces northward yesterday, and this morning I saw one group of fifty at the Provost-Marshal's office, awaiting some disposition to be made of them. Secretary Stanton lately issued an order that no more negroes should be taken to Illinois. Unless I am greatly misinformed, there is an abundance of work for all the able-bodied negroes that can find their way to freedom. Their labor is wanted to replace that of the many thousands of white men of the Western States that have gone to the war. Parties here a few days since stated that a very large number could find employment in the coal mines of Pennsylvania. A pressing need of laborers exists in that quarter; and it might be a profitable speculation for parties interested in the mines to come hither and gather up the negroes as they are found in the army."

BLACK WORKERS.—The Nashville correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, under date Nov. 12, says: "The principal duty assigned to Gen. Negley was the completion, at an early day, of the works of defence for the city. Those being constructed by Captain Morton were on an extensive scale, and highly important. Negley is a man of energy. He immediately seized two thousand negroes, constituted them into regiments—actual colored regiments—gave them quarters to themselves, and put them to work vigorously at the fortifications. These regiments of laborers are regularly constituted, as regards discipline, and commanded and officered by the more intelligent men to be found amongst them. Their efficiency has been thoroughly tested, and it has been satisfactorily ascertained that twice the amount of such labor can be got out of them as can be forced from the same number of detailed soldiers."

NEGRO STEALING.—It strikes us that Captain James McQuoid, of the steamer Iberville, is in a tight place. He went up the river the other day, and upon his return yesterday he was "one negro short." Inquiry was instituted, and it turned out that he sold the man Gen. Butler has locked McQuoid up in the Parish Prison, "there to remain until he returns the negro." We like the conditions, although old Barker will call us by the fearful name of "Abolitionist" for saying so. In the language of the Roman Consul, Capt. McQuoid might as well be a cat in hell without claws as to try to cheat the Commander of the Department of the Gulf.—*New Orleans Delta, 6th.*

DEMOCRATIC DIABOLISM.—A letter from an army correspondent to *The Tribune* says: "Some of our Democratic Brigadier-Generals at Helena, Ark., not now in command there, were shameless in their disregard of the Confiscation Act, and the authority of Major-Gen. Curtis, declaring the free papers he had given the slaves of rebel masters to be 'worthless paper.' Under their regime the treatment of the blacks was brutal and inhuman to the last degree. They were delivered to their owners with the aid of a military guard, their persons, their liberty, their lives even, had no protection. Instances of wanton killing of black men have occurred on the levee, shot by ruffians in soldiers' garb, who were never called to account for their conduct, the facts not even being reported to the Provost-Marshal General. Instances of black men being robbed of their money by soldiers—taken from them with threats of the bayonet on the highways—the negroes' testimony being refused at the Provost-Marshal's Court of Justice, and the perpetrators going free, were common. But since Brig.-Gen. A. P. Hovey, of Indiana, has been in command there is beginning to appear a visible improvement in all this, and a better discipline of the army under his authority and rule."

LETTER FROM A COLORED SOLDIER.—The following letter appears in the New Orleans *Delta*:

Desiring to appease the fears of the friends and relations of the First Regiment Louisiana Volunteer Native Guards, Col. Spencer H. Stafford, commanding, I address you this letter, hoping that you may publish it in your columns, which are read daily by at least five or six hundred of their friends. When we left the city on the 30th ult., we were from 850 to 875 strong. We arrived at this place on the 1st inst., 800 to 845 strong—only about thirty men having fallen out, and these from sickness. We have not, as yet, had the pleasure of exchanging shots with the enemy. But we are still anxious, as we have ever been, to show the world that the latent courage of the African is aroused, and that, while fighting under the American flag, we can and will be a wall of fire and death to the enemies of this country, our birth-place. When we enlisted we were hooted at in the streets of New Orleans as rabble of armed plebians and cowards. I am proud to say that if any cowardice has been exhibited since we left Camp Strong, at the Louisiana Race Course, it has been exhibited by the rebels. They have retreated from Boutee Station beyond Terrebonne Station, on the line we have marched, burning bridges and destroying culverts, which, no sooner than coming to the knowledge of Col. Thomas, of the Eighth Vermont Regiment, have been repaired as quickly as they were destroyed.

I am not of a disposition to claim for our regiment more than its share of praise, but I venture the assertion that there is not a regiment in the service more willing to share the hardships of marching and bivouacking, and more desirous of meeting the enemy than this regiment, led by Col. E. H. Stafford and Maj. C. F. Bassett.

Hoping these few lines may appease the anxiety of our friends and relations.

I am yours, with highest respect, J. H. I.

FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.—*Near Corinth, Miss., Oct.* 20.—Large numbers of slaves are used about Corinth in the government employ. The fortifications and small forts that saved us from defeat in the late battle were built by these negroes. They have all come voluntarily within our lines, are very submissive and perfectly willing to work. They have their regular quarters, and are marched to and from work in order, and it especially delights them to be marched like soldiers.

Besides these are a great many in every regiment as cooks. Almost every officer has his black servant to wait on him. Every company is entitled to four; their wages are from $10 to $18 per month. I have not seen a fugitive yet who could be hired to return to his master. I talked to one the other evening who joined us at Rienzi. He said that he had travelled one hundred miles to get within our lines. Slaves generally awaited the approach of our army to make their escape from bondage. Some would not leave at all—a few were afraid—many were ready as soon as our army would come near, and some were so eager that they would brave every danger to get away. About one-half have white blood in them. Some are so nearly white, that no one at the North would think they were in the remotest degree descended from the negro race.

Nov. 3.—With regard to the contrabands, so far as I can learn, they are waiting, like Micawber, for "something to turn up," in order that they may leave the plantations and attach themselves to the army. I believe if our army were to pass through the South and leave the negroes to themselves, the President's proclamation would hardly be necessary—nine-tenths of all the slaves would take refuge with the army. Negroes know more about what is going on than is commonly believed. I talked to one not long since who had travelled from the interior of Mississippi. I asked him how long he had waited for the approach of our army. He said more than a year. I asked if the slaves of that vicinity expected to be free. He replied that if our army would go down there every slave would leave the plantations. Many would have come with him, but had not the courage to brave the perils of the journey, and run the risk of being caught and severely punished, or sent further South.

We have slaves from Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas. All tell the same tale. The slaves are ripe for revolution—all they want is a leader. They are too ignorant, the circle of intercommunication too narrow, for them to do much unaided, but with the help of our army to set the revolution in motion, it would soon gather strength and increase in velocity until it would acquire a momentum that would be beyond the power of the Southern Confederacy to check. All this could be done with scarcely an effort on our part.

A negro preaches at the contraband headquarters every Sabbath. Almost all the blacks attend regularly, and are orderly and attentive. Of course, the preaching is not very elegant; still, it is simple and earnest, within the capacity of the negro's limited intellect. The speaker will talk incessantly from 10 a.m. till 2 p. m., and be listened to attentively during the four hours. One thing is certain—the negroes are very tractable, and under a proper influence, would soon be capable of taking care of themselves. Many of them are really shrewd, with all their ignorance, and would be as capable of conducting the affairs of a farm as one one-half of our Northern farmers. The great hue and cry raised by doughfaces about the effect of turning the slaves loose upon the community is without reason. If the slaves are all as capable of taking care of themselves as those I have seen, they will get along anywhere.

There are more white slaves in the South than is generally supposed. There are two slave boys in our regiment as white as I am—not a kink in their hair. Their mother is here also; she is almost white. The master is the father to one of the boys, the master's son father to the other, and yet this mother and her sons were to be sold South when they made their escape to our army. They lived near Rienzi. How any reasonable man could uphold such a system is beyond my comprehension.—*Tribune.*

REBEL APPREHENSIONS.—The alarm felt by the rebels in view of the President's proclamation is well illustrated by an intercepted letter of a rebel soldier at Knoxville, Tenn., to his brother in South Carolina, of which this is an extract: "I do not know what your and brother Gabr'is plans are about the negroes from White Oak; but I feel some apprehension about them, and their location so near the coast. Would it not be better to send them a greater distance into the interior? I have not heard from brother G., and do not know what sort of a place he purchased in Sumter. Whether it is of any size, sufficiently large for the cultivation of provisions or not? If so, could they not be sent there, or placed on some plantation inland where they could work, and an arrangement be made with the owner to support and feed them? I am afraid there will be much trouble on the coast of South Carolina this Winter, and the temptations and influences to which they may be exposed may prove too much for their fidelity."

VAIN BOASTING.—The correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, with Gen. Grant's army, gives an account of the seizure of a rebel's corn to feed the horses of the Union forces and says: "At the time this was going on your correspondent held an interesting conversation with the proprietor on the 'nigger question.' He 'was not afraid of his niggers leaving him. They were better off than they could hope to be elsewhere.' He had hardly said this when a huge waggon passed where we were standing with thirty-five negroes of all ages—his entire 'stock.' This was a practical solution of the question, and I forebore to argue with him farther."

SLAVES A HELP TO THE REBELS.—The New Orleans correspondent of *The Tribune* says: "To show you the importance of the President's proclamation freeing the slaves, and the necessity of striking a blow at that branch of the rebel resources, I may mention a single fact. Nearly all the carts and other conveyances now engaged in supplying Pass Christian and other places on the lake with necessaries from Mobile are driven by slaves—the purchases are made by them. They have the money rolled up in slips of paper, on which is written the amount, what is wanted and who for, which, being handed to the merchant in Mobile, is as promptly attended to as if white men went."

FRIGHT OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS.—A recent letter from Port Royal says: Contrabands from the interior of the State are arriving at Port Royal every day. They state that the people are in a terrible state of excitement, thinking that our soldiers will advance on them immediately. They have no confidence in their defenders, and they are sending all their property, negroes included, far away into the interior and to other States. The towns of Savannah and Charleston, especially the latter, are strongly fortified, both by the land and water; yet the people dread an encounter with our soldiers and Monitors. They state that they will burn to the ground both cities before they will surrender them.

SET TO PICKING COTTON.—The correspondent of the New York *Times*, writing from Lagrange, Tenn., Nov. 15, says:

"The rush of contrabands to the lines of the Federals resembles much that of the Israelites escaping from the bondage and brickmaking of Egypt. So many have accumulated on our hands that the authorities have found it necessary to do something for them besides merely feeding them. There being thousands of acres of cotton unpicked in this vicinity, and cotton being worth, on an average, sixty cents a pound, it occurred to somebody that negroes picking cotton were more economical than negroes consuming corn bread and bacon at an expense respectively of thirty cents per diem. The following order has accordingly been issued:

HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,
DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
LAGRANGE, TENN., NOV. 14, 1862.

SPECIAL FIELD ORDERS NO. 4.—1. Chaplain J. Eaton, Jr., of the Twenty-seventh Regiment Ohio Infantry Volunteers, is hereby appointed to take charge of all fugitive slaves that are now, or may from time to time come within the military lines of the advancing army in this vicinity, not employed and registered in accordance with General Orders No. 72, from headquarters District of West Tennessee, and will open a camp for them at Grand Junction, where they will be suitably cared for and organized into companies and set to work, picking, ginning and baling all cotton now outstanding in fields.

2. Commanding officers of troops will send all fugitives that come within the lines, together with such teams, cooking utensils and other baggage as they may bring with them, to Chaplain Eaton, Jr., at Grand Junction.

3. One regiment of Infantry, from Brig.-Gen. McArthur's division, will be temporarily detailed as guard in charge of such contrabands, and the surgeons of said regiment will be charged with the care of the sick.

Commissaries of subsistence will issue on the requisitions of Chaplain Eaton, Jr., omitting the coffee rations, and substituting rye. By order of

Maj.-Gen. U. S. GRANT.

JNO. A. RAWLINS, Assist. Adj't-Gen.

"Considering the fact that our soldiers, in crossing from Corinth to Lagrange, burned everything inflammable, including dwelling houses and cotton-gins, it will be conceded that Chaplain Eaton has a task of no light character; and especially is this the case, when it is considered that he will not only have charge of their material interests, as connected with ungathered cotton, but also of their intellectual welfare, as interwoven with their spiritual interests. He has not only to produce a certain amount of picked cotton *per diem*, but also, in view of his position, to know that while gathering the fleecy treasures, for which Manchester grows gaunt and hollow-eyed, that his *protégés* grow in grace and intellectual beauty. He has not only to know that fingers are busy collecting the regal productions of the Sunny South, but also that the dusky bondmen and bondwomen of his charge, are collecting to themselves mental treasures, pure and white as those material beauties which, now, like a snow-drift, overspread the wide fields of the genial South. I know of no man or Christian better adapted to the position—a position which at once requires a practical knowledge of everyday life, and a profound devotion to the interests of a fallen people. He is one of the few Chaplains of our army who has acted the part of the Good Samaritan in binding up the wounds of our poor time travellers, and at the same time has resisted the lusts of the flesh and the devil, and has refused, in consequence, to grow rich by mule speculations, or in efforts whose only end has been the material bettering of the operator."

CONTRABANDS.—The Louisville (Ky.) correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune* writes, November 5: "There is a sharp practice going on, to a large extent, just now, in this city, which needs exposure, and the immediate attention of the government. Large numbers of negroes, the property of rebels in Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, are brought to this city by officers, companies and regiments. These negroes have been regularly confiscated according to law—at least the largest share of them; but immediately upon their arrival here, they are seized under a law of the Commonwealth, thrust into prison, when they will be advertized, and, if not claimed, then sold to the highest bidder to pay jail fees, expenses of advertising, arrest, etc. I understand that there are full three hundred negroes now in jail here, arrested under these circumstances, and, unless released by a higher power than the State of Kentucky, will be sold into slavery. I believe there are several white men now lying in jail for having attempted to get these contrabands across into Indiana against the sovereign will of Kentucky. This matter should have an airing." An individual case of this kind, of a negro in the rebel service, captured at Fort Donelson, and, therefore, free by act of Congress, was reported in the newspapers some months since. He was released from these Louisville slave pens by the decision of a United States Judge. If the courts do not reach these new cases, we doubt not the Executive will interfere. The laws of the land must and will be enforced. All negroes employed in the rebel service, with the consent of their owners, all slaves of rebels escaping into our lines, and all such slaves found in places which we may capture, are free, and their right to freedom will be maintained by the President against all State interference. The Constitution of the United States, and all laws made in pursuance thereof, are *the supreme law.*—*Washington Republican.*

WILL THE NEGRO WORK?—A correspondent of the Brattleboro' *Phœnix*, writing from Algiers, La., says:

"The negroes continue to come in, and by their good behavior and industry are looked upon with more and more favor by officers and men. They constantly are well cared for; and if they cost a good deal for food and direction, they are willing and ready to work to repay the outlay. It is admirable to see a body of ignorant persons, set loose from all the restraints and associations of forced obedience, so perfectly well disposed and orderly, and so prompt to work to pay their way. They go out daily to cut wood on government account, and there are now some 1,500 cords ready for market, worth from $7 to $12 a cord; and the supply is as unlimited as the city demand will be constant during the coming Winter. Five or six hundred are at work on the levees doing invaluable service against the time of floods.

"The negro is a powerful worker, with thews and sinews which make severe toil comparatively easy; as now employed, at least, he is patient and steady, with a great deal of emulation, cheerfully doing his best, without shrinking, not in the fear of the lash, but in the honest hope of fair return for his labor.

"An experienced New England farmer, who had the care of a sugar plantation here for the last month, under government direction, told me to-day, that in his judgment slavery was wholly needless, in a pecuniary point of view. Crops could be far better and more cheaply secured by free negro work than by any slave system. He said he could manage his two hundred negroes, even in these disturbed times, and by reason and justice and kindness alone, with far less trouble than he could superintend any half dozen Irishmen he ever employed. Said he, they are shrewd, quite suspicious, and justly so now-a-days, but with the best inclinations, and in morals far above the whites by whom they have been surrounded. My friend is the best possible witness, and his judgment regarding the plantation negro and slavery, in a financial point of view, is entitled to the greatest weight."

DRAMATIC READINGS.—Mrs. Louise De Mortie, a colored lady from Boston, will read selections from various authors at the Stuyvesant Institute, 659 Broadway, on Monday evening next. *The Liberator* speaks of her qualifications in very flattering terms, and a letter is now before us, signed by Rev. Samuel May, Jr. and W. L. Garrison, from which we copy as follows: "We have heard Mrs. De Mortie's Readings, and have been gratified and greatly interested thereby. She possesses admirable qualities of voice, tone and manner to give effect to her reading, and none who hear her can, we are sure, fail to be highly pleased." We hope she will have a large and appreciative audience.

Summary.

MR. STORY, the American sculptor, has sold his statues of "Cleopatra" and "The African Sibyl," in England, for 3,000 guineas.

The Charleston *Mercury* says, "the Yankees love the nigger." The complexion of a large portion of the servile population of the South is a pretty strong indication that the chivalry "love the nigger."—*Louisville Journal.*

PRESIDENT LINCOLN, although specially exempt by law from having his salary taxed under the Revenue Act, has ordered the same deduction to be made as if a tax were imposed. By this voluntary act the President pays a tax of $1,200 per year out of his salary.

THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE.—This worthy, whose McClellan whitewash is spread over so many pages of the Submission papers, is the same with whom McClellan was found drinking champagne on a steamboat, whilst his troops were actually fighting the last of those disastrous battles before Richmond.—*Commonwealth.*

INDIANA COTTON.—There is no doubt that cotton can be successfully cultivated in Southern Indiana. This year but little seed could be secured, and that late in the season. Syrup from the Chinese and African cane is produced in abundance the present year, as pleasant to the palate or eye as the golden syrup. A specimen of the cotton is of good quality, and quite equal to New Orleans.

A MODEL PREACHER.—A lady, writing to her son at college, is represented as making the following statement: "Dr. Mundy is giving a series of sermons on the different kinds of wood used in building Solomon's Temple. They are very interesting, and he has such a flow of beautiful words, and such wavy gestures, and he looks so gentlemanly, that I have no doubt he does a great deal of good. The church is always full."

Samuel Chilton, Esq., the attorney for John Brown, resides at Warrenton, Va., and is said to be a gentleman highly esteemed and respected. He thinks old John Brown precipitated the great rebellion, and absolutely believes his spirit walks around our thousand bivouac-fields about the time "churchyards yawn," and tom-cats make the silent street and lanes of Warrenton melodious.

A SINGULAR COUPLE got married in Chester County, Pa., the other day, merely making the following declaration in the presence of friends:

"We, ORSON S. MURRAY and LYDIA P. JACOBS, make known to these, our friends, that we have chosen each other for conjugal companionship, in prosperity and in adversity, in life and till death. We ask no license. We submit to no dictation. We bow to no authority. We recognize no God nor Almighty Power to guide or guard us. Our promises are to ourselves and each other, and no others. Our trust is not in others, but in ourselves and each other."

MCCLELLAN IN THE WEST.—Our advices from Gen. Grant's army at Holly Springs say that the news of the removal of McClellan was received by our soldiers there and elsewhere in the South-west with the greatest joy. "Now," say the boys, "we see a prospect of a termination of the war, and of our return home!" The boys are right; and though they may not have very accurate notions of the particulars of McClellan's failure, they have what Sherman's friends claimed for him, "great instincts," which in this case, as in most other cases, have not deceived them.—*Chicago Tribune.*

GEN. STONE'S IMPRISONMENT.—*Wilkes's Spirit of the Times* publishes another letter written by the late Gen. Kearney, in which it is charged upon Gen. McClellan that "he incarcerated Gen. Stone, one of the *ablest* men of the army, on the plea that it was done on the *pressure* of the Abolitionists, when it, in reality, was to damn past being listened to, one whom he knew, if questioned by a military committee, would not avoid bringing to light the incapacity (and subsequent contrivances to smother it) which had exposed Col. Baker, and then left him helpless, downed and unsupported at the battle of Ball's Bluff."

TIFFANY'S NEW GUERILLA GUN.—Joel Tiffany, Esq., of Albany, the well-known legal author, has invented a new gun for light field use, and guerilla warfare. It is breech-loading, simple, and throws a pound ball. The principle can be applied safely, it is alleged, to guns of larger caliber. The breech extends about eighteen inches beyond the fuse-hole. In this solid extension is cut a groove, in range with the bore of the gun. In this groove plies an iron plunger, which forms the ramrod and stop. It can be loaded and fired easily in four seconds; and can be drawn and worked by two men. This gun is now on exhibition at Onion and Wheelock's, 366 Broadway.—*Tribune.*

COTTON IN DELAWARE.—Dr. Emerson, of Philadelphia, spoke at some length at the Franklin Institute in relation to experiments which he had made in raising cotton in Delaware. He stated that he had planted some acres of South Carolina cotton in Delaware, and had found that it could be raised with profit from one to two degrees farther North than it had generally been cultivated, and of a quality equal to the best Georgia upland cotton; that he considered it remunerative at one hundred pounds to the acre, and it then paid better than Indian corn; and that it would be remunerative at one-half the price now received. He advised all farmers in the latitude of Annapolis and thereabouts to put in a few acres, which, with easy culture, would make a remunerative crop.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.—The General Convention of the Methodist Protestant Church, in session at Cincinnati, passed the following:

"Resolved, That we heartily endorse the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln, because it strikes at that baleful cause of all our civil and ecclesiastical difficulties, American slavery—the sum of all villanies, the darling idol of villains, the central power of villainous secessionism, but now by the wisdom of the President about to be made the agent of retributive justice in punishing the culmination of villainous enterprises, the attempt to overthrow the most glorious civil government that God's providence ever established upon earth."

A LARGE NATIVE DIAMOND.—The art of cutting and polishing diamonds, though of remote antiquity in Asia, has only recently been introduced into this country. It is now practiced here by one house, and only one, we believe, that of Messrs. Crosby, Hunnewell & Morse of Boston, and we need no longer send as heretofore to Amsterdam or London to have diamonds repaired or recut. These dealers have now on exhibition at their store a native diamond which they have cut in the highest style of the art. It is the largest diamond ever found in the United States; perhaps the largest now in the country. The weight of the gem before cutting was nearly 24 carats; after cutting, it was about one-half its original weight. It was found near New London, in Southern Virginia, in the vicinity of a quarry of elastic jointed sandstone No exact value has been put upon the gem, but it is estimated as worth from $10,000 to $15,000.—*Boston Transcript.*

REBEL JUDGMENT OF MCCLELLAN.—The Charleston *Mercury* says that one of our privates, now a prisoner, declares that he heard Gen. McClellan say "that the demagogues had brought us into our present troubles; and that if the matter should be left to Lee and himself, they would end it in five days." Now admitting that this prisoner lied, we cannot help remembering that he spoke what he thought those rebels had some reason to believe true. When has any such story been told about Fremont, or Phelps, or Hunter? Does not every one know that such a story would have been greeted with derision North or South? There is too much reason to believe that the rebels have *not* believed in the entire loyalty of McClellan. It is very certain that they would never have made the raids into Maryland and Pennsylvania, had they not doubted either his capacity or his fidelity. We think it was the capacity which the event proved to be wanting.—*Commonwealth.*

THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD.—The London *Museum* has been enlightening its readers on American authorship. Even American readers may learn something from it that they never dreamed of before. For instance, the following:

"We have been told that the highest culture of the New World is to be found where alone that leisure essential to culture existed—among the planters of the South; but it is a remarkable fact that, while the literature of the North has been hitherto inferior to that of any European State, the South has produced no literature at all. It is true that Edgar Allen Poe was a Virginian, but all the other poets whom we shall have occasion to mention, by birth, and he himself by adoption, with all the great prose writers of America, belong to the Northern States. To the names of Longfellow, Lowell, Hawthorne, Irving and Emerson, *the Carolinas can only oppose the genius of their one great orator, Daniel Webster!*"

SELLING INDIAN CHILDREN.—The Alta *Californian* of Oct. 5 says: "Mr. August Hess, who has returned to this city from a prospecting tour through the lower part of Lake County, informs us that he saw a number of men driving Indian children before them to sell in Napa, Solono, Yolo, and other Counties of the Sacramento Basin. In one instance he saw two men driving nine children; in another, two men with four children; in another, one man with two girls, one of them apparently about fourteen years of age. The age of these children varied from six to fifteen years. Rumor says that about one hundred children have been taken through Lake County this Summer for sale. They do not follow the main road, but usually take by-paths. Rumor says, further, that hunters catch them

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI SLAVERY STANDARD.

A PRAYER FOR THE NATION.

Cast down, yet not destroyed, nor stricken quite,
We bow, O Father, 'neath Thy chastening rod.
Look down upon us in our sorrow's night,
And pity us, oh our God!

We have not walked uprightly; like lost sheep
Wandering upon the mountains, we have strayed;
And now the night is dark, the way is steep,
And we are sore afraid.

Be merciful! We are not wise nor strong
Like Thee, to hate the evil, love the good;
We are but children,—knowing right from wrong.
Yet weak with babyhood.

Eternal years are Thine; Thine awful face,
Unwrinkled, bears the ages on its front;
We are of yesterday,—an infant race,—
And mercy is Thy wont.

Crush us not, God! The nations, as a drop
In the full bucket, yet are counted Thine;
Thou art our Maker;—art Thou less our Prop?—
Omnipotent! Divine!

We have no plea to offer, only this:
Regard our weakness; we are very frail!
And while Thy chastening hand our poor lips kiss,
Oh, let our plea prevail!

Scourge us,—but let Thy mercy hold the rod,
Driving us on to Duty, not to Death;
Then let Thy sword, Oh God, our fathers' God,
Return unto its sheath.

Fitchburg, Mass. CAROLINE A. MASON.

CHRIST THE SPIRIT.

[Extract from a review, in *The Christian Examiner* for November, of Gen. Hitchcock's work, entitled, "Christ the Spirit, being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity."]

The historical Christ is not the real Christ; the real Christ is the spiritual, or the Spirit. Without the Spirit, the historical Christ is naught. Without the historical Christ, the Spirit is himself.

Spirit is reality; it is the substantial, the solid, the permanent, the palpable thing. It is the base of all existence. We speak of occurrences in the natural world as "phenomena," *appearances*—a phrase which implies that there is something beneath and behind them which is not an appearance; that something is spirit. Creation sprung into being, say the old Scriptures, at a word; the word was the airy form of a thought; the thought was the ethereal expression of a being. The real part of the Christ is the spiritual part, by universal admission. It is his faith, his love, his humanity. What historical believer hopes to be saved by touching the hem of his Hebrew garment, by having a remnant of his seamless coat? The virtue of the miracles, even to them who believe the miracles, and believe that not to believe the miracles is not to be saved, lies in the loving will that wrought the miracles, and in the loving sentiment that informs them. Who goes to Christ for anything but his thought? Who hopes to be helped by anything but his affection? Who expects to be blessed by anything but the communion of his life? Who opens his soul to anything but the breath of his aspiration? The Christ you love, O literal and matter-of-fact brother, is, after all, the spiritual Christ. The Christ of the sectarian, of the dogmatist, is the spiritual Christ, if it is any Christ at all. It is the truth in the creed that enlightens and redeems, not the words in the creed. The Christ of the formalist, the ritualist, the ecclesiastic, is the spiritual Christ, if it is any Christ at all. The bread and the wine would be inoperative if they were not the body of God. The prayer is not addressed to the image—but to the divinity behind the image.

True, it is replied; but the divinity would be nothing to us without the image. How could we see the spiritual Christ if he had not flesh and bones as we have? How could we find him, if he had not a local habitation? How should we know him to be the person we were looking for, if he did not present himself with open credentials of a very unmistakable kind? The spirit must be authenticated, otherwise we shall find ourselves believing every spirit, and shall miss the true one. Now there is no mistake. This book, we know, contains the literal fact; this article, we are certain, embodies the pure truth; this shrine holds the real divinity. Are you sure of that? It seems to us that if spirit possesses one quality above another, it is this of being self-evidencing. It is its own witness, and its own demonstration. They who know it, know it under one form as well as another. It knows its own and is known of them. Instead of being authenticated by the form, it authenticates the form. The doctrine proves the miracle, not the miracle the doctrine. We do not accept Beelzebub on the strength of wonders, nor would any number of marvels convince us that Judas was the Christ. Scepticism always assails the letter first, even if it carries its assault further. It is harder to verify the history than to accredit the person of whom the history tells; it is harder to legitimate the creed, than to assent to the truth it embodies; it is harder to justify the rite, than to receive the idea which the rite symbolizes. The beauty of the Christ's moral character needs no evidence; it burns through the ages like a star; it sails through the cloudy skies of controversy like the moon. However it may have been with those who saw its earliest appearing, it has been so long with us that we know it without putting our hands into its side. That person stands out plain to all eyes, serene, majestic, well-defined, not a feature erased, not a line weakened, every trait fairly and broadly marked, its glory confessed by all lookers-on, its truth acknowledged, its beauty admired; but among those who lovingly bend before it are some who have torn his historical garb all to tatters, who have stripped him of his messianic robes, taken off his crown of miracle, made huge rents in the tissue of narrative on which his figure is painted, and abandoned the hope of ever knowing how he looked to the eyes of his contemporaries. The seamless coat of his history can no more be reproduced; but the spirit it clothed is abroad in Christendom. Is that spirit nothing, because the date of its advent on the stage of time is lost, and the accurate record of its deeds has been rubbed out by the flowing years? Is it nothing, because the antiquarian cannot identify the sacred places, and the historian cannot vouch for the authenticity of every recorded incident? Is it nothing, when it has become idealized by the loving sentiment and transfigured by the adoring imagination of mankind? Is it nothing, when the mind surrounds it with a halo of splendor, when the heart clings to it with its tenderest affections, when the soul sits at its feet in humility? Is it nothing, because it is universal? Spiritual things are not only spiritually discerned, they are spiritually propagated. Great souls require no history; it is of no consequence where they were born, when they lived, what dress they wore, what fortune they met, what wealth they possessed. Of some of them it may be said that they had no history whatever; hardly a cord of trustworthy tradition holds them attached to the earth. We have them, nevertheless; they lived, they are ours; the scantiness of their clothing permits us to see the majestic grace of their march. To be born into the spiritual world one needs not an earthly father or mother. Was not the Christ born of the Holy Ghost? The Muse of history never introduced anybody to a child of God. The best she can do is to bring one to the door. He may come to the door, and yet not be seen.

A question of priority is raised between spirit and form. One says, form precedes and creates spirit; spirit is an effluence from matter. The Church preserves the mind and generates the life of the Christ. It is by joining the Church that one puts himself in communication with that august soul. It is by believing in the creed that one appropriates the truth which the creed contains. It is by studying the New Testament that the impression of the image fixed there is retouched and revived. Not only does the Spirit Christ live for us in these symbolical forms and doctrines and books; he is perpetually created anew by them in the hearts of believers, and without them he would not exist. Suppose the Church gone, the sacraments gone, the creed gone, the Gospels gone, where would be the Christ? We reply, where he was before Church, sacrament, creed or Gospel came into being. There was a time when he was, and these were not. There were Churches before there was a New Testament; and very living, faithful Churches, too. There were apostles before there were Churches. There was a teaching, working, self-sacrificing Christ before there were apostles; and before there was a teaching, working, self-sacrificing Christ—a Christ with articulate utterance and manual performance—there was a still, interior, meditating, musing Christ—a soul communing with the Infinite, breathing in the Eternal, fortifying itself with faith, hope and charity, and accumulating the virtue which afterward streamed in loving light from his form, dropped beneficently from his fingers' ends, and flowed, a healing power, from the hem of his garment. This fair image reproduced itself by its own sunlight on the heart-tablets which were sensitive enough to receive the impression, and was again and again reproduced from the "negative," which never faded. The friends of Jesus had no New Testament. It is not likely that they put together his sayings and doings, and so made a comparative estimate of his character; for there was much in those sayings and doings which they could not understand; much that conflicted with their prejudices; much that grieved them, and in spite of which they must love him, if love him they did. It must be that a virtue came out of him, too fine to be articulated or demonstrated in acting; an aroma, in which this great soul transpired and communicated itself. His friends knew more of him than he showed them—had a more perfect likeness of him than he painted.

They attempted to describe him afterwards in the Gospels of the New Testament; not very successfully, being unskilled in verbal description, and out of the abundance of the heart being unable to say much. They described him much better in their obedience to him, in their personal and social virtues, in their hopes, aspirations, endeavors, in their love-feasts, their care for the poor and sick, their respect for the slave, their earnest humanity that made the Gentiles stare, the nobleness and willingness of their self-sacrifice, the beautiful ideal of character which they cherished, and their daily prayer that the kingdom of God might come on the earth. They showed whom they had been with, and in that way exhibited him. The longer this image was in the world, the clearer it became, and the more powerfully it wrought on mankind. The Spirit Christ wrote his autobiography in large letters that burned with light. He moved Augustine, Bernard, Gerson, Tauler, Kempis, Fenelon to illustrate him in their writings. He wrote many a hymn, he dictated many a sermon, he inspired many a prayer—each of which brought out into relief some lineament of his, or drew a delicate line of that divine countenance which grew more divine as the light of larger intelligence fell on it.

The doctrine that Christ the Spirit, as a living person, precedes in point of time the historical Christ, is quite in accordance with the tradition of the Church. It is suggested in the story of his being the child of a virgin by the Holy Spirit, his birth being the advent of a spiritual person, who needed only this much of mortal parentage for his manifestation. It is directly taught in the dogma of the pre-existence. Christ the Spirit has been already in the world. Before Abraham was he was—not as a conscious individual, but as the soul of many individuals; his features not all set together in one countenance, but distributed among many; his attributes not gathered up in one soul, but animating a long line of souls, and pouring their brilliancy from numerous centres of light. The elements of which he was composed were elements that had been floating in the moral atmosphere from the first dawn of the conscience, and only waited the touch of Time's finger to crystalize in this diamond point. The perfect beauty of that Chrystalization we probably appreciate better than the men of any former period. The New Testament does not show us all the facets of this eminent gem. We need the full radiance of our modern knowledge to flash them all. We speak of the historical Christ; but the true historical Christ is the Christ of modern history—the Christ who is painted for us by the experiences of the last ten centuries—who has come to men living and real since the fall of the Roman Empire. The scepticism which assails the authenticity of the New Testament, so far from touching the genuine Christ of history, does but touch the records, which tell feebly and partially—how partially and feebly few pause to think—what befell before his historical career had fairly opened; the facts which it disturbs are but so many literary statements committed to paper concerning him—statements exceedingly interesting and valuable, but comparatively unimportant by the side of the ideas he has planted, the institutions he has reared, the monuments of faith he has upraised, the Churches he has builded, the massive lives he has placed like granite sphinxes along the avenues of civilization, the groups of lives that he has gathered in knots and set in all the desert places of the earth.

But the Christ Spirit must have a form? Surely. A visible form? Undoubtedly. A form palpable to the touch? We do not deny it. We only deny that he is confined to this form or that. We assert that he is seen under numberless forms, and equally well seen. He dwells in the Duomo of Milan and in the Quaker meeting-house in Salem. The Catholic priest presents him in the sacrament of Transubstantiation; the Unitarian "communes" with him in his simple memorial rite; the silent Friends have him nearest of all. The creed of thirty-nine articles, or the creed of five points, or the creed of "Love your neighbor," each may contain him if either may. Here he is dressed out in glory as the King of heaven; there he is pictured as walking barefoot among the poor, in the garb of a mechanic. Here he is adored as the ideal of humanity; there he is revered as humanity's loftiest saint; in another place he is honored as the world's martyred reformer; elsewhere, again, he is loved as the friend and comforter of the needy. He is portrayed as second person in the Trinity, Saviour, Mediator, son of the carpenter—Christ the Spirit in all, and as much in one as in another. He is a Proteus. The truth seems to be that the Spirit creates its form according to its need, and drops its forms one after another, as the old bones become exhausted and new ones are required. The Church of any period was not manufactured; it grew. De Quincey, speaking of the dense obscurity that hangs about the early period of the Christian Church—and, indeed, clouds the history of Christianity for some hundreds of years, rendering it extremely difficult to trace events to their causes, or to find the threads by which operations were guided—attempts to account for it on the ground that the moving power was supernatural. Its machinery was not, therefore, like ordinary mechanism, open to human inspection, but was concealed by its very nature. The footprints of the god cannot be traced on the ground. Even if they could be seen, it would be necessary to cover them up, that men might not be utterly confounded by such close contact with the immortals: but to cover them up was needless; they covered themselves up, and in so doing left vast spaces of vacancy where active causes should be found. De Quincey's explanation of this very remarkable fact is purely fanciful, but it falls in with the idea we are advancing—namely, that the Spirit took possession of such forms as were waiting to receive it, filled them as long as they would contain it, then abandoned them to their fate. The Christ's coming was without observation; silently he pushed open the door of the deserted temples, made them his Shekinah for the time, then departed, and mysteriously glided on. The creeds were accretions; the sacraments made themselves; the "conscious stones" grew to beauty under the hand of architects who builded better than they knew. Protestants are generally of opinion that the forms under which the Church of the Middle Ages presented Christ are now but empty vessels, with just the faintest aroma of the spirit they once contained hanging about them. In passing from one phase of Protestantism to another—from Lutheranism to Calvinism, from Calvinism to Socinianism, from Socinianism to Unitarianism, from Unitarianism to Rationalism, from Rationalism to Transcendentalism—the Christ Spirit has been continually dropping its old garb, and putting on new, without giving the least symptom of exhaustion in so doing, or intimating that it passes through any change save a change from glory to glory.

Why fear, then, that the destruction of any particular form, or of any particular set or system of forms, or of all existing and prevailing forms, is to be the destruction of the real Christ? He is indestructible as humanity. A form of some kind he will be sure to have, he must have. If it is a mighty form, he will fill it. If it is a slender form, he will swell it out to his own proportions. The infinite is in the atoms. It may be an organization or an individual. If an organization, he will be able to animate it with a single soul; if an individual, he will be able to give it the force of a multitude of souls. It may be a literature, as the New Testament is, or it may be a spoken word passed along on the breath of tradition. If it is a literature, the various books which compose it will be made to repeat the same image; if it is a word, the heavens and earth shall pass away while that endures. Yes, the heavens and the earth of Jesus's day have passed away in all but their material aspect. They are not what they were to the minds of men. The stars are not groups of spirits; the moon is not a goddess; the sun is not a divinity; the prince of the powers of the air has taken his flight from the empyrean with his foul band of demons; the centre of the earth is not a realm of ghosts; Sheol has gone; Tartarus has vanished. There are the same skies; there is the same earth; but all that made them what they had been to the human soul has passed irrecoverably. There are literally new heavens and a new earth; but the word which he committed to the air speeds on with that ripple whose movement never ceases. The tiny pulsations beat the mind's ear, and knock with light finger at every heart; the eternal doors fly open at the airy touch; the Teacher comes in—the Comforter, the Inspirer; the angelic train follows, filling the soul's outer court with the rustling of wings, and making the dome ring with chanting choirs. Is the word inaudible? It has but gone within. The Spirit may not read to you from holy book, but it will look at you from holy eyes, it will breathe upon you in holy atmospheres, it will communicate itself to you through holy characters. "The true Shekinah is man." No Church is so magnificent as a noble soul; no sacrament is so efficacious as a pure heart. When the Christ has arrived at this form, the temples may fall. The saving rites are deeds. They never grow old; they never lose their virtue. The recorded actions of Jesus are standing communion-tables; they are cups which have held their wine of life for two thousand years, and are as full of virtue now as they ever were. Every ecclesiastical form has altered; but these remain unchanged. His recorded treatment of the Magdalene, of the adulteress, of the woman who poured the oil on his feet, his praise of the widow and her two mites, his silence before Pilate, his patience under the hands of the soldiers, his prayer on the cross, and a score of lovely things beside, are better than altars and masses and creeds to refresh the fainting soul of mankind.

No less beautiful, no less plenteous in grace, are the deeds he has inspired. The actions of noble men and women stand like wayside shrines all along the path of history. What individual recalls not one sweet life, one gracious heart, one blessed achievement, which to him is a deep fountain of spiritual water? Say what we will about permanent ordinances, the truly permanent ordinances are pious works. The colonel who allowed himself to be taken, in order that his wounded men might escape in the overloaded boats; the student who swam the Potomac three times in face of hostile bullets, pushing a raft covered with disabled soldiers; the lieutenant who, hurt to death, begged, commanded his friend, because he was hurt to death, to leave him, and give his care to those whom there was yet hope of saving—have set up—we say it with all reverence—have set up among their friends, in the households of those who know them, very sacred ordinances, very holy shrines. To think of such deeds will be for them like touching the hem of Christ's garment; to penetrate into the heart of them will be better than going to mass or attending vespers. The sanctities of heaven and earth meet in a deed of saintliness; and the mystery of transubstantiation is repeated as often as these are remembered by believing souls.

Why, then, be apprehensive lest the Spirit Christ be left naked and nebulous among mankind? The danger is not so much that Christ the Spirit will have no form, as that the form, historical, literary, ritual, will stand unoccupied by Christ the Spirit. To recover him at any cost is the great labor and duty of the time. We can arrange his wardrobe after we have found his person. It might be a good thing to allow him for once to make his own choice of garments from the now richly furnished wardrobe of the world. He has fashioned so many already, that we are very sure he can fashion more. He has already cast aside so many, that we have no fear of his being left unclothed, even should the proud robes which men have hung on his shoulders be dropped by the wayside, or divided, like St. Martin's cloak, among the poor. The clothes question quite aside, we must have Christ the Spirit—that first, that by all means. It will be as much as we can achieve to open our doors to him in any dress, and give him a chamber in our hearts.

We have no intention and no desire to act the part of destructives. We would never shatter an idol that revealed a God. But knowing as we do know how many see no God behind the idol—knowing as we do know how many, believing the historical Christ to be shattered, fear that the real Christ is gone—we would, passing by the others as not needing what we have to say, speak our word of encouragement to these. We have wished to detach the immortal person from his temporal environment; we have wished to show how little he has been injured by the falling of his house made with hands; we have wished to make him appear walking triumphantly over its ruins.

THE CONTRABANDS IN WASHINGTON.

[When we say that the writer of the following letter is understood to be Mr. ROBERT LEIGHTON of Boston, the intimate friend of THEODORE PARKER, and the reporter for many years of his Sermons and Prayers, we give our readers ample assurance that its statements of fact are worthy of full credit.]

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1, 1862.

OWING to the retrogressive movements of our army in Virginia during the last two or three months, there has been a large decrease in the influx of the contrabands to this city and vicinity; and, with the exception of the large number who swarmed into Alexandria at the time of the last Bull Run battles, instead of coming by scores and fifties and hundreds, as formerly, solitary individuals and little groups of two or three, or half a dozen, wend their way hither, pioneers and adventurers in search of freedom, anticipating the blessed day which is so soon to bring deliverance to millions of their fellow-beings. Of the thousands who have thus escaped and reached the District of Columbia during the past year, a very considerable proportion yet remain within its limits. Finding, on their arrival, protection and employment, and feeling entirely secure in the enjoyment of their new-found liberty, they have felt no desire to pursue their journey further North, and unless they have friends elsewhere, or special inducements are held out to them to take up their abode in some other place, they settle here, and establish their scanty homes wherever they can find shelter.

It is impossible to give any accurate statistics of their numbers, as many have never reported themselves to the government, finding they were able to take care of themselves and those dependent on them, and provide for their wants without its aid; and of those who have so reported, the early record seems to be very imperfect. Military protection is accorded to all who desire it, and it is the duty of the soldiery and the police to defend them against any attempt at abuse—a duty in many instances hitherto very inefficiently performed.

Upward of 2,000 of the men are employed by the government in various services connected more or less directly with the war, at $12 per month and upward, beside lodging and rations. All the capable women, who have not small children, are readily engaged as servants in families, or find remunerative occupation in washing for the hospitals or the camps, or in other domestic labors connected therewith.

About 700 live at the McClellan Barracks, in the northern and otherwise unsettled part of the city. Of these over one-half are small children, the remainder, comprising their mothers, the sick, the infirm, and the disabled, together with a few of the well and able-bodied, who are employed as assistants about the place. The barracks inclose a space of three or four acres, and are partitioned off into small rooms, each one containing—though it can hardly be said to accommodate—from five to fifteen occupants. There are also two large hospital tents, and several smaller tents used as dwellings. As these humble habitations are located on an extensive plain or common, their inmates, during fine weather, can cook, wash, and pursue their other domestic avocations, in the open air, and the children have a free out-door range. This plan, being much in accordance with their former mode of living, is found to be vastly better than that first adopted at Duff Green's Row, where the people were lodged in large first-class dwelling-houses, and necessarily subjected to much more confinement than at present.

This body of the fugitives is under the superintendence of the Rev. D. B. Nichols of Chicago, whose successful management of the Reform School for outcast boys in that city is well known, and who appears to be equally fortunate in his control of these other and worse outcasts of society, whose need of reform is therefore so much the greater. All newly-arrived contrabands who desire government protection or employment report themselves to the Superintendent, who is empowered by the Military Governor of the District to afford either; and all applications for employees, either for government or transient service, are to be made to him. The demand at his office for labor of this kind is always in excess of the supply. He is assisted by Mr. Small—a young man whose business energy and self-denying industry admirably fit him for his position. Two matrons, Misses Patten and Doxey, who have had valuable experience at Port Royal, are also employed, under the auspices of the Freedman's Relief Association, in supervising the general domestic economy of the establishment, in clothing the destitute, providing for the needs of the sick, and instructing the well in habits of industry and neatness. Too much can hardly be said in praise of their faithful devotion to the noble work in which they are engaged.

The hospital has many patients, owing partly to the exposure and other hardships to which the fugitives are frequently subjected in their long journeys hither, and partly to the fact that those who are employed elsewhere, and who have no immediate connection with this establishment, when taken ill, are sent here for care and treatment. A portion of the disease must also be attributed to the overcrowded condition of the rooms which the people occupy, and to their inherent distaste for ventilation, in which they far surpass that large majority of white people whose abhorrence of fresh air in their apartments is a lamentable and well-known fact. This evil will be partly remedied by removing a portion of the occupants into new rooms, which are now in process of erection. The sick are under the medical charge of Dr. Pettijohn, who was also introduced by the Freedmen's Association, but who has since been regularly appointed to the post by the government.

Two young men, employed by the American Tract Society of New York, are zealously engaged in teaching the contrabands. Of course it is a rare thing to find one who has acquired any knowledge of reading or writing while in servitude, but occasionally an instance of this kind is met with. They evince, almost without exception, an earnest desire for instruction of this sort, and many have made very gratifying progress. Their diligence in this regard is hardly equalled, certainly not surpassed, by that of any body of white people, similarly circumstanced, who have ever come under my observation. Some of the "white schools" for children in this city might suffer in comparison with an humble "colored school," a portion of whose pupils are the children of contrabands, maintained by the efforts of Dr. L. D. Johnson—whose philanthropic labors in many directions are known to the residents here—and taught in the evening by himself and friends, and during the day by a black woman. In this connection I will mention, as an illustration of the average intelligence of the citizens of the metropolis of the nation, that an examination of the record kept at the office of the Superintendent of Contrabands, for the period of two months, reveals the interesting fact that fifteen per cent. of those who hired servants at that place were unable to write their own names, and were obliged to make their mark in giving the necessary signature, and several of these were well dressed and fashionable ladies. It should be stated, in order that no injustice may be done, that many of these were the former owners of slaves who had been emancipated by the act of Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

On Sundays Mr. Nichols preaches to the contrabands simple and practical discourses, which they appear to understand and appreciate. They frequently have religious meetings of their own, conducted entirely by themselves, and no description can do justice to an occasion of this kind, at which one must be present in order to get an adequate idea of it. The religious element is strong in them, and their expression of it, though rude and unpolished, is most fervent and touching, and their prayers, and such of their hymns as have originated with themselves, have a native eloquence and poetry all their own.

At Alexandria about four hundred are under the special protection of the government, of the same class as those just spoken of, and their general condition is much the same, with the exception of hospital arrangements. A portion of these are located in an old school house, built by Gen. Washington, and another portion in what is so well known as the "Slave Pen," the sign "Price, Rihor and Co., Dealers in Slaves," still remaining over the door. The pen consists of a large building divided up into rooms, with iron bars across the windows, surrounding a hollow square, where the victims were disposed of. It is pleasant to know that the walls reared for another purpose by the "Father of his country," now shield from harm those who have escaped from slavery: and a still more significant instance of poetical justice is seen in the fact that a place within sight of the Capitol, which the government once permitted to be desecrated by the foulest abominations, in the sacrifice of human victims to the greed and lust of slavery, is now occupied by those who, under the protection of the government, find there a refuge from the villanies of the oppressor.

This experiment of managing the fugitives from slavery, as far as its results appear, affords an opportunity for the refutation of some of the slanders concerning them which pro-slavery Democrats are so active in circulating. It has always been charged against them that they are inherently lazy, and will not work unless driven to do so. The fact is quite the contrary. Under the influence of kind and reasonable treatment, and prompted by the incentive that whatever they earn is to be for their benefit and enjoyment, and not appropriated by another, and, still more, realizing that they are free and independent men and women, and so responsible for their own support, they labor with a most commendable industry and perseverance. They are not seen begging about the streets, as it was predicted they would be. Had I space, I could mention several praiseworthy examples which have come under my notice of this spirit of self-reliance and independence on their part. Instead of being an incubus to the government, as it is often asserted they are, it can hardly be doubted that the government is at this moment, after allowing for all its expenditure in behalf of those who are incapable of self-support, actually indebted to them, in a pecuniary point of view, on account of the lower wages which it pays them as compared with the wages paid to white laborers for similar work, no better nor more efficiently performed, to say nothing of that great debt of justice and humanity which it will require long years to cancel.

The sanguinary horrors of slave insurrection, and the savage and brutal atrocities which a mob of infuriated black men might commit should a suitable opportunity occur, have been described until the subject is worn threadbare. These things are possible only in the imaginations of those who portray them, and have no foundation either in the facts of history or in the character of the people who are thus calumniated. There has been an utter perversion of the truth on this point, and a complete misrepresentation, either malicious or ignorant, of the nature and disposition of the victims of African slavery. With rare exceptions, they have been, and are, a patient and long-suffering people, and neither cruel nor revengeful, notwithstanding all the wrongs and provocations which have been heaped upon them. Their gentleness and docility, under the most trying circumstances, are amazing. Notwithstanding all the inconvenience and discomfort consequent upon their crowded condition at the barracks, they are never found quarreling among themselves; nor does any disturbance of the public peace originate with them. Many of the old residents here, and in some instances, I regret to say, men wearing the garb of United States soldiers, entertain toward them a spirit of hatred and intolerance which is contemptible and disgraceful in the extreme, and manifest it in continual insults and assaults of the most aggravating character; but rarely is any resentment displayed by the inoffensive recipients of these outrages. Women of respectable standing in society, who would doubtless indignantly resist any imputation that they were not ladies, have in several instances hired servants at the contraband quarters, and after keeping them several weeks, have discharged them without compensation. So common have these various abuses become, that Gen. Wadsworth, who has proved himself a true friend of the colored people, and is always ready to protect them against any infringement of their rights, has recently issued a stringent order, directing the Superintendent to take cognizance of all such instances which may come to his knowledge, and to insist upon immediate reparation, and in case of refusal to visit upon the offenders the penalties of the law.

The absurd clamor which has been raised against the presumed migration of the blacks to the Northern States, and the consequent disorganization of labor, as one of the disastrous results of emancipation, is equally groundless in reason and fact. There is no such disposition manifest on the part of those who have already escaped, and as far as can be learned none on the part of those who are still in slavery, provided they can be secured in the enjoyment of their natural rights and privileges. The Superintendent has made this a special point of inquiry, and he assures me that of the 3,500 who have passed under his charge during the four months of his possession of the office, not 35 were found who were willing to go farther North. This, together with the fact that in many instances they remain on the farms or plantations which have been deserted by their rebel masters, in Virginia, and do not avail themselves of facilities within their reach for moving Northward, or that they only go so far as may be necessary for their safety, is pretty good evidence as to their desire in this particular.

It is but just that I should speak of their deficiencies, as well as of the good qualities which they possess, and which are so often denied them. Veracity cannot be claimed as one of their prominent virtues, and the lack of it in them is continually apparent; nor do they entertain a very nice appreciation of the rights of property, especially the property of white people. It would be surprising were it otherwise, when we consider the character in these respects of those whom they have served, and more particularly as shown during the present war, the rebels having outdone Munchausen in the art of lying, both in the number and magnitude of their fabrications, and earned a reputation for stealing which eclipses anything in the history of mankind, and will make them proverbial for all time. We should not forget, however, the many instances in which the information furnished by contrabands has proved of service to our army, and the many more in which it might have availed to our benefit and saved us incalculable harm and loss, had it been heeded, and that never have they deceived us by false statements which might have led to our discomfiture and the advantage of the enemy.

They are wanting also in chastity. Why should they not be, born and bred as they have been in that portion of our country which Mr. Sumner so happily characterizes, in his recent address, as an "enormous house of ill fame"? Still there are many honorable exceptions among them in this regard, where the family relation is strictly observed.

These seem to be their chief defects, and, together with minor ones which I will not stop to particularize, are the inevitable result of the circumstances in which they have been placed. The only wonder is that they present so many traits which are commendable, and that they have not sunk yet lower in the scale of humanity. Special efforts are being made by the Superintendent and teachers to reform them of the vices just named, and to teach them good habits and correct modes of living, and a gratifying progress has already been made in that direction. They are obedient and submissive, willing to learn, and desirous of improving, and patience and kindness in their management will accomplish almost any desirable result.

Although the design is to render them self-supporting, as far and as fast as possible, yet the needs of the sick, the disabled and the destitute, present a large and very just claim upon the benevolent. The Freedman's Association are doing what they can to supply their more pressing wants, but their limited means do not permit them to furnish so much aid as could be desired. The free colored people of the city have shown a commendable spirit in assisting their less fortunate brethren, but contributions of clothing, of nutritious food for the sick, and of money for educational and other purposes, are needed, and such as the charitably-disposed see fit to make may be addressed to Hannibal Hamlin, President of the National Freedman's Relief Association, or to George E. Baker, Treasurer, and the donors may rest assured that their gifts will be judiciously bestowed and will accomplish much good. R. L.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

ODE.

THE NATION SUPREME.

BY WILLIAM ROSS WALLACE.

"We want no more evidence of the accursed nature of the doctrine of 'State Rights.' We are a Union—a Nation. We must have National Laws, National Institutions, National Freedom. We have had too much of State Law, too much of State Rights, too much of State Slavery. The Nation must be Supreme. As we uphold and perpetuate the National authority, so will be our existence as a people. As we detract from this, so will be our weakness and downfall."

I.

SPREAD alone the *Nation's* Banner!
Crowned by its imperial fold,
Let those glorious words like storm-bursts
Over *all* the land be rolled:
Ever in the thoughtful pauses,
Brimful with a People's will,
Sound the tyrant-shaking trumpet
WARREN blew at Bunker Hill!

II.

"State Law, State Rights and State Slavery"?
Yes, their demon-clouds too long
Have upon our Nation's temple
Hurled the riving bolts of wrong:
Only mumbling fools now wonder
That Rebellion shakes the Pile,
Fiercely rolling crimson rivers
Through each consecrated aisle.

III.

Would ye quell this traitor-tempest?
Would ye staunch fraternal gore?
Then with Truth's unquailing manhood
Stand and probe the Treason's core—
Stand and dare the stern-browed Real,
Stern but bright with God's own beam:
'Mid the crash of falling fetters
Shout—"*The Nation is Supreme.*"

IV.

Feel ye not, at last, all planets
Shuddering at the Bondman's cry?
Now, *Creation's* Sinai thunders—
Mark it—if yet would not die!
Honor, Virtue, Glory, *Union*—
Only thus their saving glow;
Only thus the fiends that rend us
Sink into their hells below!

V.

Spread alone the *Nation's* Banner!
Crowned by its imperial fold,
Let those glorious words like storm-bursts
Over *all* the land be rolled!
Stand and dare the stern-browed Real,
Stern but bright with God's own beam:
'Mid the crash of falling fetters
Shout—"THE NATION IS SUPREME!"

1862.

A SLAVE CASE—A SAD STORY.

From The Washington (D.C.) Republican.

ABOUT half-past eight o'clock on the morning of the 29th ult., the inhabitants of Ninth street, near N, were made the pained spectators of one of those disgusting deeds which so much disfigure and discredit the civilization of the age, and which at the same time furnish material to the thoughtful for new and bitter denunciation of our barbaric slave laws. Boast as we may, while slave-hounds are let loose in broad daylight, in the Capital of the Union, to seize upon timid, crouching fugitives of both sexes from the horrors of slavery, in order to replunge them into servitude under legal sanction, we can never claim, politically or socially, that our country is the home of the free, nor can we enjoy the highest blessing of a free people, a conscience void of political and moral offence.

Amid the quiet of every day life, with God's sun shining lovingly in the heavens, and with no disturbance, save to those most interested, a hack, black in every sense, and evidently an ordinary funeral carriage, drove to the side of the road and suddenly stopped. Its employment, infamous but common, so long as slavery pollutes a portion of the land, was eminently proper on this occasion, for those who were afterward forcibly ensconced within it wept as it bore them to the grave of their new-born hope of liberty—a felon's jail. Two men, magnificent representatives of their calling, burly, well-fed, remorseless Legrees, to whom the exhibition of human woe, in anticipation of evoking sympathy, or of touching a chord likely to respond to the heart-sorrows of another, would be about as effective as the endeavor to infuse wisdom into the mind of a fool by the emphatic process of braying him in a mortar, burst open the door of a negro dwelling, in a room of which three trembling colored children were sitting, two boys respectively of ten and eleven, and a little girl about three years old. They fled in terror, being well aware of what awaited them from the mother's condition and from their own knowledge, if the ogres of slavery saw them. The two younger ones were speedily caught and stowed in the coach for safety. But the eldest made use of his legs and ran away, but was overtaken by a somewhat notorious slave-catcher named Wise, who griped him by the throat. It was kind of Wise to allow the boy to breathe, but the recipient of the favor seemed determined, notwithstanding, to give vent to all the voice wherewith he was endowed. This was too much for Mr. Wise. It would have made him the cynosure for certain eyes, before whose gaze he felt inwardly he would not stand exactly as an object of admiration, a huge mountain of flesh in conflict with a diminutive quantity of colored humanity. He therefore compounded with his prisoner—a cent for silence—which drawing forth the instant assent of the sable captive, he was incontinently removed by the arm and unresistingly caged with his brother and sister.

The slave mother of these crying little ones was absent and supposed to be secreted in the vicinity. In the hope of laying their merciless hands on this poor creature, these human hounds, scenting their prey, as they imagined, hung about the whitened fences, as if spell-bound, fascinated. They seemed to love their work with its varied vicissitudes of hope, disappointment and success. Despising aristocracy as true democrats, yet they could not avoid feeling for the nonce, and conscientiously, the veriest knights of the lash and the gyve. Heroic in sentiment and hiding their knightly trappings, they shone forth as unliveried slave-sneaks, slave-pimps, and waiters upon opportunity to snatch up dark-skinned victims, not for honor as the knights of old, but for ignoble lucre, derived in an iniquitous and damning service. And finally, as if the force of human degradation could no farther go, with leering eyes, watching in every direction for every fancied avenue by which escape could be accomplished, they reached successfully the lowest level of canine instinct, strongly awakened but evidently baffled.

The mother was not caught, and orders were given to the driver to drive at once to the office of Commissioner Phillips, coupled with a somewhat loud statement that "the children will not leave the District for twenty-four hours. The mother will not certainly desert her children."

The whole proceeding was one calculated to arouse a resolution, if it were possible, to assist the unhappy family. The case was therefore mentioned to Mr. John C. Underwood, the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury, a gentleman well and widely known for his active benevolence in such matters. He at once sought an interview with Mr. John A. Wills, of the legal firm of Magraw and Wills, No. 261 Q street, to whom he gave instructions to leave no stone unturned to save the children from rendition into slavery. Mr. Wills lost no time in proceeding to the City Hall to see Commissioner Phillips, who is appointed to investigate and decide upon cases of fugitive slaves, and it is certainly not beyond the scope of truthful narration, to state that he is known personally and privately to favor the "peculiar institution," and those who profess an ownership in the male and female flesh and blood, bone and sinew, soul and body of a portion of the colored race, from whom is exacted perpetual and unpaid labor. It was ascertained from him that the children were, where some endowed with parental tenderness will shudder to learn, confined in the common jail.

It will be observed that the professional slave-catcher, and the slave-catching owner with their inhuman assistants, though defying human nature by casting into slavery beings whom the Almighty had made free as themselves, relied upon their knowledge of the inextinguishable instincts of that nature, that a slave mother cannot forget her slave offspring. They presumed her mother's love would rise superior to her dread of slavery, and induce her to run the risk of reënslavement through her affectionate anxiety to ascertain their fate. But they were doomed to disappointment. She is not yet in their power. But this hunted woman, fearful of every footfall, and trembling at the sound of voices, and fleeing from place to place in order to preserve her cherished, God-given, but man-denied liberty, has told the artless story of the sufferings of her slave life. She said, amid many a sigh, as she recalled her fearful experience: "My first master, Jacob Hall, lived and died in Washington. He was very kind to his slaves, and I had no reason to complain. I thought from what he said I should be free after his death; for he had declared his servants should never serve another master. After the funeral came the settlement of his affairs, and I was taken to Maryland County, where his brother, Absalom Hall, put me and all the other slaves into jail. I was sick and had a baby at the time; both the baby and myself caught cold, and the poor little thing died. I became cook in the family, but his wife was of such a quarrelsome temper that we never could agree. She was always scolding me, and then she would get her husband to beat me. I have been beaten so often and so badly that my back, off of which he made me strip my shift, is covered with scars from his stripes. I have been the mother of eight children. My eldest boy was sold into Georgia, and I have never heard of him since. Two boys were taken from me and are somewhere in Washington, but I have not seen them for years. Of the three now in jail, the girl, three years old, had been sick of some fever for a week before she was caught, and the skin was peeling from her face. *I would rather she would die than go back into slavery without my protection.* It almost breaks my heart, but I cannot be *beaten to pieces. I try to shake the children off my mind, but cannot. Oh, what shall I do?* If I could I should feel better, and do anything to be free. The thought and dread of being caught almost kills me, and for the children's sake I almost feel like going back. I cannot read the Bible nor write—but I pray. None of the servants can read. If I could read I am quite sure it would be beaten out of my head. I cannot bear idleness, and could gain my living if permitted. I do not know how much I should sell for, on account of weakness resulting from a severe attack of pneumonia which required me to be cupped several times, and the two do